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**The Mozart Family and Empfindsamkeit
Enlightenment and Sensibility in Salzburg 1750–1790**

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The Mozart Family and *Empfindsamkeit*

Enlightenment and Sensibility in Salzburg 1750–1790

Viktor Yün-liang Töpelmann

**PhD in Musicology
King's College London, 2016**

Abstract

The overarching theme of the present dissertation is the documentation of the cultural and intellectual environment of the Mozart family in Salzburg from 1750 until 1790. A particular focus lies on the cultural transfer between the Protestant North and the Catholic South of the German-speaking lands. Enlightenment and *Empfindsamkeit* as a social and aesthetic ideal are traditionally associated with the northern parts of Germany, yet a new evaluation of sources and documents in Salzburg demonstrates the currency of these ideas in the archbishopric.

The dissertation assembles a wide range of information regarding the erudition and interests of Salzburg citizens in general and more specifically of friends and acquaintances in the direct environment of the Mozart family, demonstrating their active participation in a cultural modernity at large. Detailed accounts on the book and sheet music trade in the archbishopric demonstrate the ubiquity of the newest cultural products from North Germany, France and England. At the centre of this dissertation stands a reconstruction of the Mozarts' Salzburg library and their literary knowledge, which displays their wide interests and their participation in the vibrant cultural life of their hometown. The currency of and the high value attached to *Empfindsamkeit* within Salzburg culture is demonstrated in locally printed educational books, portrait collections, a 'hill of friendship' in Aigen near Salzburg, the theatre repertoire and the books and music for sale in town.

It is hoped that this vibrant cultural life, as documented in the present dissertation, will help to challenge several traditional concepts in historiography and Mozart biography about Enlightenment and modernity in Salzburg.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
<i>Briefe</i>	<i>Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen</i> , ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, 8 vols. (Kassel, 1962–2006)
<i>DeutschBilder</i>	Otto Erich Deutsch, <i>Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenössischen Bildern</i> (Kassel, 1961)
<i>Documentary Biography</i>	Otto Erich Deutsch, <i>Mozart – A Documentary Biography</i> (London, 1965)
<i>Dokumente</i>	Otto Erich Deutsch, <i>Mozart – Die Dokumente seines Lebens</i> (Kassel, 1961)
ed. / eds.	editor / editors
e.g.	for example
H	Eugene E. Helm, <i>Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach</i> (New Haven, 1989)
i.e.	<i>id est</i> (that is)
ISM	Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg
K	Ludwig von Köchel, <i>Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts</i> , 6 th edition edited by Franz Giegling et al. (Wiesbaden, 1964)
<i>Konrad/Staehelin</i>	Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin, <i>Allzeit ein buch – Die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts</i> (Weinheim, 1991)
<i>Letters</i>	Emily Anderson, ed., <i>The Letters of Mozart and his Family</i> , 3 rd edition revised by Stanley Sadie and Fiona Smart (London, 1985)
<i>LM Licitation</i>	<i>Leopold Mozart Licitations-Protocoll</i> , auction report of the sale of Leopold Mozart's estate, published in Rudolph Angermüller, 'Leopold Mozarts Verlassenschaft', <i>Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum</i> , xli/3-4 (1993), 1–32 [page numbers refer to this edition]
LMV	Cliff Eisen, ed., <i>Leopold-Mozart-Werkverzeichnis (LMV)</i> (Augsburg, 2010)
MH	Charles H. Sherman and T. Donley Thomas, eds., <i>Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806) : A Chronological Thematic Catalogue of His Works</i> (Stuyvesant, NY, 1993)
<i>NannerlDiary</i>	The diaries of Maria Anna Mozart, called Nannerl, published in Geneviève Geffray, ed., <i>Marie Anne Mozart »meine tag ordnungen«</i> (Bad Honnef, 1998) [page numbers refer to this edition]
NMA	<i>Neue Mozart Ausgabe</i> , ed. Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, 127 vols. (Kassel, 1954–2007)

OSB	<i>Ordo Sancti Benedicti</i>
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i>
<i>SchidenhofenDiary</i>	The diaries of Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen, published in Hannelore and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., <i>Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen – Ein Freund der Mozarts</i> (Bad Honnef, 2006) [page numbers refer to this edition]
s.d.	<i>sine dato</i> (without date of publishing)
s.l.	<i>sine loco</i> (without place of publishing)
s.n.	<i>sine nomine</i> (without name of publisher or printer)
<i>Violinschule</i>	Leopold Mozart, <i>Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1756)
Warb	Ernest Warburton, <i>Thematic Catalogue [of the Works of Johann Christian Bach]</i> (New York, 1999 = The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach, xlvii)
Wq	Alfred Wotquenne, <i>Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von C. Ph. E. Bach</i> (Leipzig, 1905)

Library Sigla

The library sigla used in this dissertation correspond with the library sigla used by RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), wherever RISM has assigned a siglum to a library or an archive.

Siglum	Library or Archive
A-KR	Benediktinerstift Kremsmünster, Bibliothek und Musikarchiv
A-Sae	Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg
A-Sca	Bibliothek Salzburg Museum
A-Sfr	Musikarchiv und Bibliothek Franziskanerkloster Salzburg
A-Sla	Salzburger Landesarchiv
A-Sm	Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Bibliotheca Mozartiana, Salzburg
A-Ss	Archiv der Stadt Salzburg
A-Ssp	Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, Salzburg
A-Su	Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg
A-Wgm	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv
A-Wn	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Wien
A-Wst	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Wien
D-AM	Provinzialbibliothek Amberg
D-As	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg
D-B	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung
D-DI	Studienbibliothek Dillingen an der Donau
D-Dl	Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden
D-ERu	Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg
D-Hs	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
D-Mbs	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
D-Mu	Universitätsbibliothek Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
D-NBsb	Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau
D-Sl	Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart
D-W	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
D-WS	Chorarchiv St. Jakob, Wasserburg am Inn
GB-Ge	Euing Collection, University of Glasgow Library
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London

Introduction

I stay there [at Christian Cannabich's] for supper, after which a discussion follows – or occasionally some gambling takes place, but then I always take a book out of my pocket and read – as I used to do in Salzburg.¹

On 20 December 1777 Wolfgang Amadé Mozart wrote these lines to his father Leopold from Mannheim, where he stayed in the hope of securing an appointment at the Palatine court. Possibly, Wolfgang's statement was driven by tactical motives, as he wanted to assure his worried father of his impeccable conduct on tour, preferring books to gambling. Yet, Wolfgang also referred to reading books as his habit at home in Salzburg, which certainly was the truth, as Leopold would plainly know if not. Wolfgang always had a book in his pocket, Leopold claimed that literature was 'a favourite study of his',² and Nannerl was a keen reader, too, as the surviving correspondence between her and her father shows:³ reading books clearly was a common family affair.

While a detailed reconstruction of the Mozarts' Salzburg library and their literary interests and knowledge stands at the centre, the overarching theme of the present dissertation is the documentation of a lively intellectual and artistic culture in their hometown Salzburg, which provided the direct environment and background to the Mozarts' own experiences and interests. An important aspect of this culture was the social and aesthetic ideal of *Empfindsamkeit*, or rather the social and aesthetic ideals connected to the high esteem that *Empfindsamkeit* as a human capacity commanded in the later eighteenth century. Joining 'Mozart' and '*Empfindsamkeit*' in the title of this dissertation does not constitute a claim that Wolfgang Amadé and Leopold Mozart were 'composers of the age of *Empfindsamkeit*' composing 'sentimental' music. *Empfindsamkeit* is instead used as pars pro toto of a larger, complex web of modern thought that we term the Enlightenment. While Enlightenment is predominantly associated with an intellectual and political Enlightenment, *Empfindsamkeit* stresses the enlightening of the hearts, of social and aesthetic sensibility. The currency, perhaps even ubiquity, of this web of modern thought in

¹ 'Dort [bei Cannabich] bleibe ich beym nacht essen, dann wird *discurirt* – oder bisweilen gespielt, da ziehe ich aber allzeit ein buch aus meiner tasche, und lese – wie ich es zu Salzburg zu machen pflegte.' *Briefe*, ii, 199; *Letters*, 429. Translations from the family correspondence in this dissertation are based on *Letters*, but amended to correspond more closely to the German original. Other translations are my own, if not noted otherwise.

² *Briefe*, i, 532; *Letters*, 266. This letter to Giovanni Battista Martini is signed by Wolfgang, but penned by Leopold.

³ For instances, in which books are sent to Nannerl after she moved to St. Gilgen, see e.g. *Briefe*, iii, 337, 460 & 606–7; none of these passages appear in *Letters*.

the personal environment of the Mozarts' in Salzburg will become apparent during the course of this dissertation.

This challenges several persistent myths in historiography and Mozart biography. The large issue at stake throughout this dissertation is the perceived cultural rift between the Protestant North and the Catholic South of the German-speaking countries. In the common view, the northern part was modern, progressive and enlightened, while the South was stuck in its baroque, conservative, reactionary culture. Tied up with questions of identity and religion, this notion has a long tradition reaching back into the eighteenth century itself, when travellers or commentators from the North derided Austria and South Germany for their cultural and political backwardness. Most famous was Friedrich Nicolai's disparaging description of Vienna and Austria,⁴ which elicited highly charged rebuttals from Viennese writers such as Aloys Blumauer⁵ or Johann Pezzl.⁶ In the case of Salzburg, this prejudice was even exacerbated by the expulsion of around 30,000 Protestants from Salzburg territory in the early 1730s. This expulsion received wide publicity in the German speaking countries and it was seen as a gross act of religious intolerance, branding Salzburg as the hotbed of reactionary bigotry.⁷ Thus visitors coming to the town in the later eighteenth century stated with a mixture of surprise and reassurance that Protestant travellers had nothing to fear in Salzburg.⁸

Both topoi, Salzburg as cultural backwater and a strict cultural divide between North and South Germany, linger on in Mozart scholarship. Yet, here they are tied up with issues of biography deeply ingrained in our image of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart since the earliest accounts of his life. Already in Franz Xaver Niemetschek's

⁴ See Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz*, iv (Berlin, s.n., 1784). For a summary, see Wolfgang Martens, 'Zum Bild Österreichs in Friedrich Nicolais Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, cxvi (1979), 54–67.

⁵ For an account of the literary feud between Nicolai and Blumauer, see Norbert Christian Wolf, 'Blumauer gegen Nicolai, Wien gegen Berlin: Die polemischen Strategien in der Kontroverse um Nicolais Reisebeschreibung als Funktion unterschiedlicher Öffentlichkeitstypen', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, xxi/2 (1996), 27–65.

⁶ For a summary of Pezzl's work *Skizze von Wien*, see Kai Kauffmann, "Es ist nur ein Wien!": *Stadtbeschreibungen von Wien 1700 bis 1873* (Vienna, 1994), 224–46.

⁷ For a historical overview on the expulsion, see Walker Mack, *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-century Germany* (Ithaca, 1992); and Gerhard Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/1732* (Vienna, 1977). For a bibliography of contemporary publications on the expulsion, see Artur Ehmer, *Das Schrifttum zur Salzburger Emigration 1731/33*, i (Hamburg, 1975).

⁸ See e.g. Johann Kaspar Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland an seinen Bruder zu Paris*, i (Zurich, s.n., 1783), 202–3.

biography Wolfgang's life is viewed as bipartite: first 'Mozart's youth'⁹ and then 'Mozart as [adult] man'.¹⁰ Though Niemetschek briefly mentions the journey to Paris 1777 to 1778 at the start of the chapter 'Mozart as man',¹¹ it is Wolfgang's arrival in Vienna in 1781 that sees the fully mature composer emerge, artistically on the height of his powers. This division is kept in Georg Nikolaus Nissen's biography: the first heading reads 'The first twenty-four years of Mozart's life', spanning the period from 1756 to 1780.¹² Since Nissen was not able to finish his biography himself, the resulting publication is quite messy and there is no subsequent heading for the remaining eleven years. Instead, the Viennese years are described under the title 'Tenth journey [...], when our Mozart travels to Vienna and distinguishes himself there'.¹³ The biography by Otto Jahn follows this division and sets the tone for many later biographies: furnished with plenty of evidence from Wolfgang's letters the employment in Salzburg is seen as serfdom, an intolerable ordeal that Wolfgang had to endure until he finally freed himself from the shackles by staying in Vienna in 1781.¹⁴

To this general story of the genius Mozart suffering under the conservative and provincial environment in the archbishopric came the less than favourable perception of the father Leopold: as Abert already complained in the 1920s, Leopold was made into 'his son's nemesis', displaying a character marked by 'pedantry, obstinacy, vanity, envy and pettybourgeois complacency'.¹⁵ Thus Leopold was turned into the personification of the problematic environment at the Salzburg court and Wolfgang did not only free himself just from serfdom under the archbishop but also from the tyranny of his father, when he finally left Salzburg for good. Wolfgang Hildesheimer and Maynard Solomon retold such an interpretation of events prominently in the later twentieth century – and besides, this story has a tremendous popular appeal.¹⁶

Without attempting to cut this Gordian knot and to untie the complex web of myths, legends and the documented aversion of the Mozarts towards their

⁹ Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des k. k. Kapellmeisters Wolfg. Amad. Mozart* (Prague, Herrlin, 1808), 1–28.

¹⁰ Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 29–65.

¹¹ Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 29–30.

¹² Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1828), 1.

¹³ Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 437.

¹⁴ Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart*, ii (Leipzig, 1856), 487–96 & iii (Leipzig, 1858), 3–31.

¹⁵ Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, ed. Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven, 2007), 6. If not noted otherwise, references to Abert refer to the English edition of the work.

¹⁶ See Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart* (Frankfurt, 1977); and Maynard Solomon, *Mozart : a Life* (New York, 1995).

hometown, I would like to emphasise that this biographical trope of Wolfgang's liberation when leaving Salzburg was all the more convincing exactly because of the general perception of Salzburg as political and intellectual backwater. Consequently, a re-evaluation of the cultural life in town can influence our ideas on the Mozarts' lives. More balanced accounts of life in Salzburg and life as court musician in town have been published,¹⁷ but as recently as 1999 David Schroeder could claim the 'relative lack of any intellectual life' in Salzburg.¹⁸

Such an intellectual life and a general culture of Enlightenment in Salzburg is the focus of Chapter 1 of the present dissertation. Up to now historical studies on Enlightenment in Salzburg dealt solely with the institutional Enlightenment in the church, in the state administration and at the university. This development will be summarised briefly, before a detailed documentation of the private interests and erudition of a number of citizens suggests a vibrant intellectual life in the city. An account of the book trade in Salzburg demonstrates the strong cultural exchange between Salzburg and North Germany, after all Salzburg was part of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations and not of Austria.

Chapter 2 documents Leopold Mozart's links with the intellectual environment described in Chapter 1 and the general interest in modernity and literature among his personal friends and acquaintances in town. Thereafter Leopold's own extensive interests and his broad erudition besides music come into focus. Leopold's intellectual competence and great knowledge are well known and were often described,¹⁹ but his erudition is regularly singled out as something special within his immediate environment,²⁰ possibly for reasons which are closely related to the historiographical issues outlined above. The survey of biographies and intellectual interests within his immediate environment suggests that Leopold was far from the lonely intellectual but part of a lively network. A look at the *Violinschule* and modernity in its structure and content complements the picture of Leopold Mozart's attitudes towards and participation in aspects of Enlightenment thought.

¹⁷ See e.g. Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart and Salzburg', *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, 2003), 7–21; or more generally Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family – Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998).

¹⁸ David Schroeder, *Mozart in Revolt* (New Haven, 1999), 23.

¹⁹ See e.g. Erich Valentin, 'Der gelehrte Vater des genialen Sohnes', *Leopold Mozart 1719 – 1787. Bild einer Persönlichkeit*, ed. Ludwig Wegele (Augsburg, 1969), 78–101; or Josef Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise* (Augsburg, 2006), 23–64.

²⁰ See e.g. Jahn, W. A. *Mozart*, i, 22; or Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Mozart in Salzburg* (Salzburg, 2006), 15.

Chapter 3 presents the first systematic attempt at reconstructing the Mozarts' literary library in Salzburg. While Wolfgang's Viennese library and the Mozarts' Salzburg music library already received detailed attention,²¹ an account of their literary library in Salzburg is missing. In addition to the books, which the family owned, I will also document their literary interests in the broadest sense, mainly based on the letters and on the *Violinschule*. The Mozarts' participation in a cultural modernity at large will become apparent, in areas such as educational literature, travel guides, historical writings, language books and of course novels and poetry, mostly stemming from North Germany. The Mozarts' knowledge of music books is particularly well documented in the family correspondence and Leopold's display of knowledge about musical and historical works in the *Violinschule* is vast. Many musicologists engaged with the literature used by Leopold in the *Violinschule* before,²² yet, in addition to presenting a more thorough account than hitherto available, I would like to suggest that Leopold had access to and used the libraries of the court, of the university and of the archabbey St. Peter, when writing the *Violinschule*. A conspicuous proportion of the exact editions, which Leopold cites, were held in one of the three institutional libraries and are still extant today. While this in itself sheds new light on Leopold's working methods, it also opens up the possibility that Leopold had access to and borrowed books from some of the private libraries described in Chapter 1. After all, several instances of borrowing and lending books are mentioned in the family correspondence.

Chapter 4 turns to the currency of the aesthetic and social ideal of *Empfindsamkeit* in Salzburg. Looking at educational books printed in Salzburg, at the theatre culture and at traces of a 'cult of friendship' in town, the currency of *Empfindsamkeit* as a valued human capacity will be obvious. Chapter 4 concludes with a section devoted to the Mozarts' involvement in aspects of this culture of *Empfindsamkeit*: the tears they shed at the theatre, Leopold's concept of 'friendship', and their partaking in the exchange and collection of portraits, silhouettes and other sentimental keep-sakes.

Chapter 5 first examines the sales channels for printed sheet music and books on music in Salzburg and thereafter it documents the availability of music prints and music books from North Germany in the city. The music trade in Salzburg did not receive any detailed scholarly attention to date: the local bookshop Mayr as well as

²¹ See Konrad/Staehelin; and Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', *Mozart Studies* 2, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford, 1997), 85–138.

²² See e.g. Thomas Irvine, 'Der belesene Kapellmeister: Leopold Mozart und seine Bibliotheken', *Acta Mozartiana*, lv/1-2 (2008), 6–15; or Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'La cultura di Leopold Mozart e la sua *Violinschule*', *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1989/90, 9–16.

several itinerant book traders distributed a fair amount of sheet music, details of which can be reconstructed using surviving sales catalogues. These catalogues suggest that the Salzburg public craved for the same kinds of music as the North German *Liebhaber* and they prove that much of the theoretical literature on music and the practical music treatises published in North Germany were available in Salzburg. A detailed account of the Mozarts' ownership of music from North Germany is given and in particular their knowledge of music by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach is illuminated. The broad selection of works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, but also by other members of the Bach family, which they must have known or come into contact with one way or another during their time in Salzburg severely questions another myth of Mozart biography, retold countless times: the so-called 'Bach-epiphany' which Wolfgang encountered at the musical gatherings of Gottfried van Swieten in Vienna.

Ever since the first comprehensive Mozart biography, written by Otto Jahn and published in four volumes between 1856 and 1859, the director of the Viennese court library Gottfried van Swieten is credited with introducing North German music and its aesthetics to Wolfgang around 1782. Jahn devotes an entire chapter to van Swieten and the musical life, which he encountered during his stay in Berlin and which he imported to Vienna.²³ In Hermann Abert's biography, which was based on Otto Jahn's work, these Sunday-gatherings at van Swieten's office in the court library in Vienna are elevated to a pivotal moment in Mozart's creative life, which brought about 'profound changes in [Mozart's] style', as Abert heads chapter 37 of his book.²⁴ Abert omits any references to the Berlin musical network, but he puts the sole emphasis on Mozart's experience of music by three composers, namely J. S. Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel and C. P. E. Bach. In the musicological literature during the twentieth century, the focus was generally further constricted to J. S. Bach and Händel and the effect of van Swieten's musical gatherings on Wolfgang grew into something approaching an epiphany that suddenly opened Mozart's artistic horizon to totally new repertoire and thus radically changed Mozart's compositional style. In 1947 Alfred Einstein interprets the musical gatherings as 'Mozart's Bach-experience',²⁵ which continues to be an influential biographical construct. In 2005 for example, Silke Leopold claimed that Wolfgang's meeting with van Swieten resulted in an 'artistic challenge, which plunged Mozart into possibly

²³ Jahn, *W. A. Mozart*, iii, 351–97.

²⁴ Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, 830–44.

²⁵ See Alfred Einstein, *Mozart. Sein Charakter. Sein Werk* (Stockholm, 1947), 212–7.

his deepest creative crisis of his life, but which later also opened up completely new compositional paths [to him]'.²⁶ Obviously, this is yet again a myth wound up with the larger historiographical and biographical issues sketched above.

Even worse, there is a decidedly ideological and nationalist aspect at the root of this biographical trope, which is repeated consciously or not since the nineteenth century: only after the encounter with the true German artform of fugal counterpoint in 1782 in Vienna, as epitomised in J. S. Bach's compositions, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart was able to develop his mature compositional style, which brought about a synthesis of his free (Southern) genius and strict (Northern) contrapuntal rules. In Jahn's words, this synthesis of 'the strictest [contrapuntal] laws and the freest creativity' resulted in the 'perfect lucidity and beauty' of Wolfgang's late works.²⁷ For Abert, the 'introduction to the music of older and contemporary north German composers in 1782 inspired the last of the deep-seated changes in his style that resulted from alien influences'.²⁸ Implicit in this statement is the idea that it was the exposure to music of the two Bachs and Händel which added the last touch to Mozart's genius. In Einstein's account, this 'great event in the history of music' was brought about by the Prussian King Frederick the Great himself²⁹ and he draws a parallel to Albrecht Dürer's Italian journeys in the sixteenth century, which resulted in a 'synthesis of the Nordic and the Southern, the personal and the general'.³⁰ The current dissertation provides ample documentation that modern North German culture surrounded Wolfgang all along since his childhood days in Salzburg and thus it might help to counter such problematic biographical concepts without diminishing the artistic inspiration that the (re-)engagement with historical styles sparked in Wolfgang's mind around 1782.

²⁶ Silke Leopold, *Mozart-Handbuch* (Kassel, 2005), 24–5.

²⁷ Jahn, *W. A. Mozart*, iii, 382.

²⁸ Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, 830.

²⁹ See Einstein, *Mozart*, 212–3.

³⁰ Einstein, *Mozart*, 214.



Figure 1: *Vue de la ville capitale de Salzbourg avec la forteresse (s.l., s.n., 1791) [D-Mbs, Mapp.IX, 298 c].* Painted by Franz Heinrich von Naumann, engraved by Johann Michael Frey.

Chapter 1 Enlightenment in Salzburg

About one hour before [Salzburg], one of the most beautiful prospects that I've ever seen presented itself. It consists of an enormous amphitheatre. Mighty rocks raise their defiant heads towards the sky in the background. Some of these, which are placed somewhat at the side, have the shape of pyramids. This epic mass of rocks trails off gradually into woody mountains and then on both sides into beautiful, partly well cultivated hills. In the middle of this stage, lies the city, above which the castle towers on a high rock.¹

Then as now, it is the natural beauty of the setting of the town Salzburg that enchants its visitors and that is most readily associated with the city. Johann Kaspar Riesbeck, the author of this Arcadian description, came to the city in December 1777. Originally he planned only a short stopover on his way to Italy, yet he ended up staying in Salzburg for almost two years before moving to Zurich.² Riesbeck published two volumes of fictitious travel letters in 1783 and four of these letters were written 'from Salzburg', vividly describing the city and its inhabitants.³ According to Riesbeck, he never saw 'a place where one can enjoy that many sensual delights for that little money', because 'everything here breathes the spirit of pleasure and delight: one feasts, dances, makes music, loves and plays frantically'.⁴ In addition to the merrymaking, Riesbeck kept company with people from the nobility, the clergy and the merchants of the town and was 'well received without consideration of the religion'.⁵ He reports that 'amongst the nobility, in particular amongst the canons of the cathedral, one can find not just very good company, but also people who excel in their profound knowledge'.⁶ He commented enthusiastically on the erudition and the government skills of the archbishop Hieronymus Colloredo and states that 'regarding his head, one cannot praise the present duke with enough good words'.⁷

¹ 'Ohngefehr eine Stunde vor dieser Stadt stellte sich einer der schönsten Prospekte dar, die ich je gesehen. Er bildet ein ungeheures Amphitheater. Im Hintergrunde erheben nackte Felsen ihre trotzigten Häupter zum Himmel empor. Einige derselben, die etwas zur Seite stehn, haben die Gestalt von Pyramiden. Diese abentheuerliche Bergmasse verliert sich stufenweis in waldigte Berge, und dann zu beyden Seiten her in schöne, zum Theil wohl angebaute Hügel. Mitten auf dem Grund dieser Bühne liegt die Stadt, über welche das Schloß auf einem hohen Felsen emporragt.' Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 151.

² See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxviii (Leipzig, 1889), 575.

³ Letters 13 to 16, see Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 150–216.

⁴ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 209.

⁵ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 203.

⁶ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 203.

⁷ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 207.

The local Benedictine university receives favourable comments in Riesbeck's letters, too, stating that most teaching chairs are staffed with exquisitely able professors. The bookstores of the town sell German writings nearly without limitation by censorship rules,⁸ leading Riesbeck to enthuse that 'overall [there is] more enlightenment here than in Munich'.⁹

Since the concept of one homogeneous enlightenment in Europe started to crumble at the beginning of the twentieth century, cultural and political historians established several strands of differing enlightenments throughout Europe, which are defined by regional and religious differences.¹⁰ Traditionally, 'the Enlightenment' was perceived as a secular phenomenon rooted in France and its diversity in different regions of Europe was described in comparison to the 'norm' set by the French *philosophes*. According to László Kontler writing in 2006, only 'today the Enlightenment is more keenly studied as a multi-centred and multi-layered movement in which similar sets of questions about man and the universe were answered in different ways, depending on a fair diversity of contextual elements'.¹¹ Two of these diverse layers are of particular relevance to Salzburg, which was a secular state and an archbishopric at once, ruled by a duke and archbishop in personal union: the Catholic Enlightenment, which initiates religious reform movements inside the Catholic Church,¹² and a particular form of secular Enlightenment in catholic countries.¹³

In respect of an Enlightenment in Salzburg, several studies were published since Hans Wagner's first introduction to the subject in 1968.¹⁴ Ludwig Hammermayer gave a detailed and well documented overview on the developments of enlightenment thought in the archbishopric Salzburg in his chapter '*Die Aufklärung*

⁸ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 209.

⁹ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 207.

¹⁰ See Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981); or Siegfried Jüttner and Jochen Schlobach, eds., *Europäische Aufklärung(en)* (Hamburg, 1992).

¹¹ László Kontler, 'What is the (Historians') Enlightenment Today?', *European Review of History*, xiii/3 (September, 2006), 360.

¹² For further reading on this strand of Enlightenment, see Ulrich Lehner and Michael Prinity, eds., *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden, 2010); David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2008); or Bernhard Schneider, "'Katholische Aufklärung": Zum Werden und Wert eines Forschungsbegriffs', *Revue d' Histoire Ecclesiastique*, xciii (1998), 354–97.

¹³ For further reading on this aspect of Enlightenment, see Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich Lehner, eds., *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe* (Notre Dame/Indiana, 2014); Franco Venturi, *Italy and the Enlightenment* (New York, 1972); or Ritchie Robertson, ed., *The Austrian Enlightenment and its Aftermath* (Edinburgh, 1991).

¹⁴ Hans Wagner, *Die Aufklärung im Erzstift Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1968).

in Salzburg (ca. 1715–1803)', which appeared as part of a comprehensive work on the history of the city Salzburg.¹⁵ More recently, Harm Klueting looked at Salzburg and Enlightenment from a specifically Mozartean angle.¹⁶

As would be expected of a staunchly catholic place, it was mainly the writings of catholic thinkers, such as the French Benedictine monk Jean Mabillon or the Italian reform theologian Lodovico Antonio Muratori, that paved the way for a climate of intellectual and social reform in Salzburg. In 1683 Jean Mabillon visited Salzburg and met up with the most important scholars of the Salzburg university. Soon thereafter, the Benedictine professors at the university taught Mabillon's pioneering scientific approach to biblical studies, which was based on a historical and paleographical critique of medieval documents.¹⁷ In order to prove or to refute the authenticity of a source, Mabillon established rational methods to classify sources from medieval times.¹⁸

This embrace of a modern scientific viewpoint by the university in the late seventeenth century can be seen as the start to a century of far-reaching changes in the teachings at the *Paridiana*, as the Salzburg university was known. The reshaping of the curriculum culminated in the general acceptance of Christian Wolff's philosophical works in the second half of the eighteenth century, at first only in the departments of natural science and mathematics. Later, Wolff's methods also pervaded the teaching of theology and philosophy at the university.¹⁹ Wolff's theories, which were formative for Enlightenment thinking throughout the German-speaking countries, were based on rational deduction as the highest aim in all areas of science, including theology and philosophy.²⁰

In terms of pastoral care and social reforms, the Italian priest, author and church historian Lodovico Muratori was highly influential in Salzburg. Muratori advocated a Catholic church based on the personal piety of the individual and on practical pastoral care for those in need. His writings were widely read throughout Europe

¹⁵ Ludwig Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', *Geschichte Salzburgs – Stadt und Land*, eds. Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger, ii/1 (Salzburg, 1988), 375–452.

¹⁶ Harm Klueting, 'Salzburg und die Aufklärung', *Mozarts Lebenswelten*, eds. Laurenz Lütteken and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (Kassel, 2008), 31–53.

¹⁷ See Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 378.

¹⁸ For further reading on Mabillon, see Mette Bruun, 'Jean Mabillon's Middle Ages: On Medievalism, Textual Criticism and Monastic Ideals', *Early Modern Medievalisms*, ed. Alicia C. Montoya (Leiden, 2010), 427–44; or Gall Heer, *Johannes Mabillon und die Schweizer Benediktiner* (St. Gallen, 1938).

¹⁹ See Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 386.

²⁰ For further reading, see Hans-Martin Gerlach, ed., *Christian Wolff als Philosoph der Aufklärung in Deutschland* (Halle/Saale, 1979); or Hans-Martin Gerlach, ed., *Christian Wolff - seine Schule und seine Gegner* (Hamburg, 2001).

and they were often interpreted as an attack against the excessive splendour of the contemporary Catholic church and against the exuberant public display of Christian veneration of any kind.²¹ Muratori also realised that the church in its conservatism hindered intellectual debate and the development of modern sciences in Catholic countries and fought against the strict censorship rules in these countries.²²

In the 1730s, the two young Salzburg noblemen Joseph Maria Thun and Vigilius Maria Firmian, who studied in Italy and met Muratori in person, returned to their native town and propagated Muratori's ideas and teachings.²³ Together with the Salzburg court historian Johann Baptist de Gaspari they founded a so-called 'Muratori-circle' and promoted modern Enlightenment thought in the city and at university. In the 1730s and 1740s this group of Salzburg intellectuals clearly stood apart from the official teachings at the university and also defined itself in opposition to this institution.²⁴ With the accession of Archbishop Hieronymus Colloredo to the seat in 1772, Muratori's ideas became the official policy and many of the radical reforms, which Colloredo instigated, followed Muratori's teachings. Colloredo reshaped the liturgy in Salzburg, making the celebrations less pompous even on feast days, he introduced a German hymnal and he limited public processions. Regarding the censorship, too, Salzburg was well known for its liberal system as compared to other Catholic countries.²⁵

All hitherto published studies on Enlightenment in Salzburg keep their focus on these institutional reforms at university and within the state. Hammermayer introduces the subject of Enlightenment in Salzburg as encompassing 'philosophical-theological, scientific, political-constitutional, pedagogic-didactical and last but not least artistic-literary' aspects,²⁶ but he entirely fails to address the artistic-literary side of the topic. Harm Klueting similarly focuses on archbishop Colloredo and his institutional reforms.²⁷ Yet, it was not only the Salzburg administration and the university that adopted Enlightenment thought in the later eighteenth century. In fact, at a much earlier point than Colloredo's reforms,

²¹ For further reading, see Fabio Marri and Maria Lieber, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Deutschland* (Frankfurt, 1997). For Muratori's influence and reception in Austria, see Eleonore Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich* (Innsbruck, 1970).

²² See Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich*, 26.

²³ For Muratori's influence in Salzburg, see Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich*, 25–39.

²⁴ See Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich*, 26.

²⁵ As Riesbeck also commented on, see above.

²⁶ Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 375.

²⁷ Klueting, 'Salzburg und die Aufklärung'.

Enlightenment thought already permeated the erudite and culturally educated circles of Salzburg society.

This will become evident in the present chapter, which focuses on the private erudition and interests of Salzburg citizens. It gives short biographical sketches of a range of Salzburg inhabitants with different social backgrounds, which aim at outlining their erudition and interests. In many cases, the emphasis rests on the private libraries, which give an idea of the intellectual horizons of their owners. Notwithstanding all its pitfalls and dangers, the study of historical libraries can provide us with insights into the erudition of their owners. While we cannot necessarily know their opinion about the books on their bookshelves, nor can we be sure that they actually read all the books, the books give an idea of the breadth of their interests and their intellectual horizon. In describing the libraries, I will focus on the dissemination of Enlightenment and North German titles. An account of the book trade in the town will finish this chapter and it will prove the general availability of Enlightenment books in Salzburg in the second half of the eighteenth century and the wide appeal modern literature, art and science had within Salzburg society.

1.1 Erudition and interests of Salzburg citizens

1.1.1 The high nobility

Reporting on the 'people who excel in their profound knowledge',²⁸ Riesbeck claims that Vigilius Maria von Firmian knew 'intimately the best Italian, French, German and English authors' and owned a nearly complete collection of English books in his exquisite library.²⁹ His brother Franz Laktanz von Firmian's portrait collection at *Schloss Leopoldskron* was only surpassed by the collection in Florence, in Riesbeck's view.³⁰ Leopold Maria Joseph von Kuenburg, too, was extremely knowledgeable and his library was assembled 'without consulting the *Index librorum prohibitorum*'.³¹ Count Anton Willibald von Wolfegg travelled France, 'in order to study the manufactories and crafts' there,³² and he knew many famous French craftsmen personally.

Thirteen years before, Karl Zinzendorf visited Salzburg in his function as *Kommerzien-Hofrat* of the Viennese empress Maria Theresia from 31 March until 6 April 1764. He noted down his impressions of the city and its inhabitants in great detail in his personal diary.³³ In addition, he also compiled an official report of his visit for the Viennese court, which mainly dealt with the economic situation of the archbishopric.³⁴ According to his private notices he clearly enjoyed the company of many young noblemen and canons in Salzburg. Remarkably, he singled out more or less the same names as Riesbeck.

Zinzendorf held Count Kuenburg in particularly high esteem and they discussed north German, Lutheran books on morals and religion.³⁵ Count Wolfegg impressed Zinzendorf by his erudition, too, as did the court councillor Adolf Freiherr von Zehmen and Zinzendorf also admired the art collection of Franz Laktanz von Firmian. It was in this sort of company that Zinzendorf spent his few days in Salzburg, visiting the sights around town and the salt mines of Hallein, and on 4 April, after dinner, he read Rousseau's *Letter to Christophe de Beaumont* to some of

²⁸ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 203.

²⁹ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, 203.

³⁰ See Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, 204. Presumably, Riesbeck refers to the *Uffizi* collection in Florence with self-portraits, founded by Leopoldo de Medici in 1664.

³¹ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 205.

³² Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 204.

³³ See Hans Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch des Grafen Karl von Zinzendorf vom 31. März bis zum 6. April 1764', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, cii (1962), 167–90.

³⁴ See Franz Martin, 'Vom Salzburger Fürstenhof um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Schluss)', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, lxxx (1940), 187–204.

³⁵ Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch', 184.

these noblemen.³⁶ In the following, a brief look at the biographies and some estate inventories of these noblemen affords us a more detailed picture of their profound knowledge, erudition and interests in modern thought and art, which impressed and delighted Zinzendorf and Riesbeck so much on their visits to Salzburg.

Vigilius Maria and Franz Laktanz von Firmian

The brothers Vigilius Maria and Franz Laktanz Firmian were members of a highly influential dynasty. Their uncle Leopold Anton von Firmian was archbishop of Salzburg from 1727 until 1744 and in acts of true nepotism Leopold furnished Vigilius Maria, Franz Laktanz and also two other brothers with high positions at court during his tenure.

Vigilius Maria was born in 1716 in Trent. After studying in Innsbruck, Salzburg and Rome, Vigilius Maria was appointed by his uncle as *Bischof von Lavant* in 1744, but he resigned the post in 1753 and became chairperson of the chapter of the Salzburg cathedral. He served in this position until his death in 1788. An obituary published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* from Jena shows the fame and the esteem, in which he was held in Salzburg and beyond.³⁷ This obituary was reprinted and expanded in Gottlob Hirsching's *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch*.³⁸ In both sources, Vigilius Maria is lauded as 'one of the most erudite prelates of the German church'.³⁹ As a student he was so dissatisfied with the state of education at the Salzburg university that he planned to move to Leuven and enrol at the local university. Allegedly, he attempted to leave Salzburg for the Low Countries illegally, but was caught out. As mentioned above, Firmian met Muratori in Rome and on his return from Italy in 1740 he co-founded the 'Muratori-circle' in Salzburg. According to contemporary biographies, Firmian renounced the bishopric Lavant in 1753, because he was tired of the network of intrigues and defamation by conservative catholic circles, which viewed his enlightened world-view with great suspicion.⁴⁰ 'Henceforth', the obituary in Hirsching continues, 'he spent all his time in the familiar company of the sciences. In particular, he dedicated himself to the

³⁶ Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch', 186.

³⁷ *Intelligenzblatt der Allgem[einen] Literatur-Zeitung*, lxxvi (17 June 1789), col.641–2.

³⁸ Friedrich Carl Gottlob Hirsching, ed., *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen*, ii (Leipzig, 1795), 225–6.

³⁹ Hirsching, *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch*, ii, 225.

⁴⁰ Yet, the severe financial difficulties of the bishopric were certainly another factor. See Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus, eds., *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, iii (Munich, 1999), 308.

study of the Greeks and the Romans and the history of the church. He [also] strove to instil the love for reading in the young canons.’⁴¹

While it was his brilliant intellect and wide erudition that singled out Vigilius Maria Firmian, his brother Franz Laktanz was famous for his collection of artefacts and natural exhibits. Franz Laktanz was born in 1712, also in Trent. After his studies at the Salzburg university, he joined the secular state administration and was appointed as *Obersthofmeister* by his uncle in 1736. With the death of his uncle in 1744, Franz Laktanz Firmian succeeded him as proprietor of *Schloss Leopoldskron* and thus as head of the family branch in Salzburg. Over the years this castle was turned into an impressive treasury of pictures, prints and curiosities from all over Europe and it became a main tourist attraction in town.⁴²

An estate inventory of *Schloss Leopoldskron* that was compiled some decades after Franz Laktanz Firmian’s death lists 749 paintings, 548 drawings and 43 volumes of copper engravings.⁴³ Firmian’s art collection included paintings by Raphael, Albrecht Dürer, Nicolas Poussin, Peter Paul Rubens and Angelika Kaufmann. In particular, Firmian was keen on collecting self-portraits of contemporary artists and portraits of famous artists of the past.⁴⁴ The artworks were not the only objects of his collecting desire: Firmian also owned an exhaustive collection of rarities of natural history, minerals, stones and animals, including over 400 padded singing birds. Antique statues, originals and replicas, were part of the collections at *Schloss Leopoldskron* as well as wax statues and carvings of wood and ebony.

Firmian was not only an art enthusiast and collector, but he was himself a proficient painter. He was particularly famous for his portrait drawings, some of which he also engraved himself. Another specialty of his was the art of etching on glass with a diamond ring. Though Firmian was known first and foremost for his art collection, he probably was highly erudite in other areas, too. The inventory of his home lists an extensive library of 843 volumes.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Hirsching, *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch*, ii, 226.

⁴² *Schloss Leopoldskron* and its collections are mentioned in several contemporary descriptions of Salzburg. See e.g. Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 203–4; Johann Bernoulli, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*, xii (Berlin, Bernoulli, 1783), 225–30; Franz Xaver Weilmeyr, *Salzburg, die Hauptstadt des Salzach-Kreises* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1813), 243–5; or Benedikt Pillwein, *Biographische Schilderungen oder Lexikon Salzburger theils verstorbener theils lebender Künstler* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1821), 49–50.

⁴³ Cited according to Franz Martin, ‘Von Sammlern und Sammlungen im alten Salzburg’, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, lxxv (1935), 54.

⁴⁴ For more information of Firmian’s portrait collection, see Chapter 4.2.1.

⁴⁵ See Martin, ‘Von Sammlern und Sammlungen im alten Salzburg’, 54. No particulars of the library are mentioned.

Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee

Count Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee, whom Zinzendorf described as 'quite knowledgeable, very polite and charming, [and] very intelligent',⁴⁶ was born in 1729.⁴⁷ He began his studies in Salzburg and in 1749 he enrolled at the *Georg August Universität* in Göttingen.⁴⁸ Wolfegg travelled widely through Europe, before settling in his native town. During these travels he studied the mechanical arts and local factories and acquired a broad knowledge on these subjects. Wolfegg had a particular penchant for architecture⁴⁹ and an active interest in the modern fashion of gardening and *Gartenkunst*: he designed two gardens outside Salzburg, one, called *Horner'sche Garten*, was situated just outside the city walls to the West and the other was at the village of Aigen.⁵⁰

Leopold Maria Joseph von Kuenburg

Leopold Maria Joseph Kuenburg belonged to another highly influential family in Salzburg, but surprisingly little information about the biography of this member of the family can be established with certainty. He was born in 1739, but nothing is known about his formal education. In 1764 he was appointed honorary court equerry and, apparently, he was a member of the masonic lodge '*Zur Behutsamkeit*' in Munich.⁵¹ As court equerry he was not only responsible for the horses and coaches of the court, but also for the education of the *Edelknaben*. Some circumstantial information about Kuenburg can be gathered from accounts of contemporaries, who met the count personally.

He clearly was a person equipped with a sharp intellect and full of joie de vivre. Leopold Mozart alluded to this by his remark that Kuenburg 'lies no claim to saintliness'.⁵² Riesbeck characterised Kuenburg as 'comprehensively educated, humorous and charming in his manners'⁵³ and the Salzburg *Domherr* Friedrich

⁴⁶ Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Reisetagebuch', 182–3.

⁴⁷ The biographical information is based on Ulrich Salzmann, 'Der Salzburger Erzbischof Siegmund Christoph Graf von Schrattenbach (1753–1771) und sein Domkapitel', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, cxxiv (1984), 209.

⁴⁸ See Götz von Selle, ed., *Die Matrikel der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen 1734–1837* (Hildesheim, 1937), 77.

⁴⁹ See Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 205.

⁵⁰ See the necrology for Wolfegg extant at the *Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg* [A-Sae, 1/41–21]. For more information on the garden at Aigen, see Chapter 4.2.2.

⁵¹ See Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon* (Bad Honnef, 2005), 248.

⁵² *Briefe*, ii, 244; *Letters*, 455.

⁵³ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 205.

Spaur also praised Kuenburg as a 'friend of mankind and literature'⁵⁴ and 'a very erudite and polite man and a pleasant companion'.⁵⁵

The *Gräfllich Kuenburg'sches Archiv*, now housed at the *Salzburger Landesarchiv*,⁵⁶ contains a large pack of book inventories from the Kuenburg family home at the *Langenhof* in Salzburg. While the book inventories are not dated, the most recent books were printed around 1800. Therefore the catalogues can also be assumed to date from that time. On the whole, the library, which according to Riesbeck was assembled 'without consulting the *Index librorum prohibitorum*',⁵⁷ contains a particularly large amount of travel literature and geographical books. There are also quite a few English titles among the books, philosophical treatises as well as sentimental novels. Count Kuenburg owned Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* in an abridged version by John Wynne, a German translation of Lord Shaftesbury's philosophical works and Philip Stanhope's, 4th Earl of Chesterfield's, collected writings, also in German translation. The library included a range of English novels in English: Laurence Sterne's *A sentimental journey*, Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa, or, The History of a Young Lady*, and *The benevolent sufferer, or the History of Mr. Cameron*, a novel published anonymously in Edinburgh in 1774. Several works by Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire prove the owner's interest in the French enlightenment. Among the North German books are Christian Wolff's and Johann Georg Feder's philosophical writings and novels and poetry by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Johann Joachim Winkelmann, Christoph Martin Wieland and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert. Two bifolios in the stack of book inventories are headed '*Schöne Künste*'. They contain mainly books on the art of horse breeding, which obviously was a central topic to Kuenburg's position as honorary court equerry. Apart from the equestrian books this section lists several treatises on *Gartenkunst*, such as Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst*. It also contains Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, the seminal German book on the fine arts and aesthetics of the eighteenth century.

⁵⁴ Friedrich von Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg nach der Säkularisation*, i (Passau, Ambrosi, 1805), 4.

⁵⁵ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 108.

⁵⁶ *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, Archiv Kuenburg-Langenhof, A.I.22 ('Bücherverzeichnisse, c.1800')].

⁵⁷ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 205.

1.1.2 Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil and his library

Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil was born near Salzburg in 1719 and went to school in his hometown.⁵⁸ In 1736 he moved to Rome and studied at the *Collegium Clementinum*, but returned to live in his native Salzburg holding several important posts at court. In 1745, he received two canonries, one in Salzburg and the other one in Halberstadt in Thuringia,⁵⁹ and the following year he was made a canon in Augsburg, too. Well-respected at court and esteemed by the populace of Salzburg, Waldburg-Zeil had high hopes of being elected as new archbishop of Salzburg in 1772, but due to an intervention of the Viennese court Hieronymus von Colloredo won the election. At Waldburg-Zeil's death in 1786 his complete belongings including a vast library of 5193 volumes were sold by auction in order to repay his outstanding debts.⁶⁰

Waldburg-Zeil was highly interested in Enlightenment thought and the intellectual world of his age. During his time in Italy, he was made a member of the Roman academy *Dei Pastori Arcadi*. Later in his life, he was involved in the foundations of the scientific academies in Innsbruck and in Munich, together with his brother Franz Anton. He was a member of the Salzburg masonic lodge *Zur Fürsicht* and in 1777 master of the lodge *Zur Behutsamkeit* in Munich.⁶¹

The estate documents drawn up after Zeil's death provide detailed information on his interest in modern thought and in contemporary natural sciences.⁶² In particular clocks, watches and optical instruments were his passion and he owned an astounding number of these. The eleven clocks and watches listed in the inventory were made in England or France, others in Augsburg and their overall value was estimated at more than 500 gulden.⁶³ One particularly sophisticated English wall clock would 'run for eight days', presumably after being wound up once: it struck the hours and also every quarter hour and it indicated the date and the seconds.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ The biographical information about Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil is based on: Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 539; and Erwin Gatz, ed., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1648 bis 1803* (Berlin, 1990), 545–6.

⁵⁹ Though the catholic diocese Halberstadt was dissolved in 1648, the chapter of the cathedral persisted until the secularisation in 1810.

⁶⁰ See Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 540.

⁶¹ See Eugen Lennhoff, *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon* (Munich, 2000), 886.

⁶² *Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg* [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11].

⁶³ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], pages 28–31.

⁶⁴ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 28.

Among a large selection of binoculars and telescopes were two Venetian telescopes,⁶⁵ one lorgnette including its case⁶⁶ and two state-of-the-art telescopes with lenses made of hyalite.⁶⁷ The most spectacular and most valuable optical device in Zeil's estate was a large 'English telescope by [John] Dollond including a stand made of hard wood'.⁶⁸ John Dollond was a highly successful optician working in London and he was famous all over Europe for the quality of his optical appliances. From Zeil's estate inventory it is unclear which size the lens tube by Dollond had, but judging by the wooden stand registered with it, it is likely that it was a fairly large telescope, possibly even the size of the telescope in the Benedictine monastery of Kremsmünster: the inventory of the 'mathematical tower' at the abbey drawn up in the late 1760s specifies a telescope made by John Dollond with a lens tube of ten feet, which converts to roughly three metres.⁶⁹ This telescope provided an optical magnification of 86 times. A camera obscura and a microscope among Zeil's belongings further testify to the count's interest in modern optical equipment.⁷⁰ Beside these objects from Zeil's estate, the contents of his library reveal a concise picture of Zeil's interests and intellectual horizon. A printed catalogue of the entire library was published on 2 March 1787 by the *Verlassenschaft-Abhandlungs-Commission* in Salzburg.⁷¹

Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil's library

Just over a year after Zeil's death, a newspaper advert was placed in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* announcing the public auction of Zeil's library.⁷² The printed auction catalogue and the advert state that the library was only to be sold in its entirety to the highest bidder, 'because a respectable offer for the complete collection has already been placed'.⁷³ According to archival documents on the auction 'the governing Herr Reichsgraf Anton von Zeill took over the considerable

⁶⁵ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 268–9.

⁶⁶ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 280–1.

⁶⁷ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 269.

⁶⁸ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 268.

⁶⁹ See Amand Kraml, ed., *Specula Cremifanensis 1. Bd. Beschreibung der in dem Mathematischen Thurme zu Cremsmünster befindlichen Naturalien, Instrumenten, und Seltenheiten von P. Laurenz Doberschiz* (Linz, 1999), 125.

⁷⁰ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 271.

⁷¹ *Verzeichniß sämtlicher Bücher der zu offenem Verkauf stehenden ansehnlichen Bibliothek des letztverstorbenen des heil. röm. Reichs Fürsten und Bischofs zu Chiemsee Ferdinand Christoph [...] zu Zeill und Trauchburg etc.* (Salzburg, s.n., 1787). Two copies of this catalogue are extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek München* [D-Mu, W 8 H.lit. 86] & [D-Mu, W 8 H.lit. 255].

⁷² *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*, iii (1787), 152.

⁷³ *Verzeichniß sämtlicher Bücher*, preface [unpaginated].

library, which was publicly advertised in a printed catalogue, [...] for 3000 fl., because no bidder came forward'.⁷⁴ The following description of Zeil's library is entirely based upon this printed catalogue.⁷⁵

Zeil's books amounted to a truly encyclopaedic library, which consisted of over 10,000 volumes in total.⁷⁶ It encompassed books on the arts and aesthetics, a large amount of literature on religion, history, economics and politics, several books on languages and dictionaries, travelogues and science treatises. Large quantities of poetry, novels and librettos were in his library, as well as a few musical books, sheet music and literature on music. A collection of current periodicals, ranging from 1740 to the year of Zeil's death in 1786, informed Zeil of the newest developments in politics, arts and sciences throughout his life.

As would be expected of a long serving bishop, Zeil's library held large quantities of Catholic prayer books, bible commentaries and other devotional literature in Latin and German. More surprising is the amount of writings by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon and Leonhard Hutter, the founding fathers of Lutheran Protestantism, among his books: Luther's *Omnia Opera* in Latin and his collected works in German in twelve volumes, an edition of Luther's German translation of the bible, at least parts of the monumental bilingual edition of the old and the new testament in German and Latin with Luther's commentary, several not nearer specified writings and sermons by Luther, Melanchthon and Hutter and Melanchthon's *Corpus Doctrinae Christianae*. While Zeil perhaps acquired these antique, historical books from the sixteenth century out of his interest in church history, he clearly was also trying to keep up to date with contemporary protestant Lutheran writings on religion and faith. Several volumes of poetry for the edification of the soul by Barthold Heinrich Brockes were among Zeil's books, as well as two books by Johann Caspar Lavater on Christianity and faith and Hermann Samuel Reimarus's *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger* edited by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

Presiding over a bishopric demanded a large amount of administrative and political skills and Zeil was also interested in the theoretical foundations of statesmanship or *Staatskunst*, 'the art of government', as it was called in eighteenth-century Germany. Zeil owned an introduction on *Staatskunst* by Johann Jacob

⁷⁴ [A-Sae, Konsistorial-Archiv, 4/41/11], 120.

⁷⁵ For detailed bibliographical information on the books mentioned in this section, see Appendix A.

⁷⁶ The printed catalogue has 5193 numbered entries, but many entries merge multiple volumes.

Schmauss and two works by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi on governance. Another general book on the art of government was the *Grundregeln und Anleitungssätze zu Beförderung der gesellschaftlichen Glückseligkeit* by Johann Peter Willebrand, whose travel guidebook the Mozarts used on their European tour in the 1760s.⁷⁷ Zeil also owned works by Lodovico Muratori and by the Salzburg professor Augustin Schelle on social order and benevolence.

Many of the historical books in Zeil's possession were related to the art of government, too: Johann Christoph Adelung's *Pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europens*, Gottfried Achenwall's *Geschichte der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Staaten*, or the two volumes of Burkhard Gotthelf Struve's *Vollständige teutsche Reichs-Historie* aimed at giving a historical background to the current state of affairs in European politics. Jacob Wegelin's *Briefe über den Werth der Geschichte* provided a theoretical framework for the value of studying history in general. Apart from political and social history, several books on church history, Johann Stephan Pütter's history of the university of Göttingen and a chronicle of his home town Salzburg in manuscript complemented the historical section in Zeil's library.

The microscope and the telescope by Dollond in Zeil's estate revealed the count's interest in modern natural sciences and this is further substantiated by several quite specialist books in his library. He owned a mineralogical description of the county Henneberg in Franconia by the geologist Friedrich Gottlob Gläser and Christian Heinrich Eilenburg's description of the royal collection of natural objects in Dresden. Martin Frobenius Ledermüller's *Mikroskopische Gemüths- und Augen-Ergötzung* contained 150 coloured etchings of microscopic views of animals and plants.

Zeil possessed a large collection of contemporary poetry and novels from northern Germany, written by the foremost authors of his time: three volumes of Friedrich von Hagedorn's poetry, two different collected edition of Heinrich Kleist's works, Gellert's complete writings, Wieland's *Cyrus*, his 'newest poems' published in Weimar in 1777 and an edition of his 'small writings' from Amsterdam. Zeil also owned Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik*, which described an utopian state where power was given to the educated and erudite members of society.

Zeil's knowledge in modern philosophy was extensive. A range of books on human reason were part of his library: a Latin and a French version of John Locke's

⁷⁷ See Chapter 3.3.

Essay concerning human understanding, Christian Wolff's *Vernünfftige Gedancken von den Kräfften des menschlichen Verstandes* and Johann Michael Sailer's *Vernunftlehre für Menschen wie sie sind*. Apart from Locke's *Essay concerning human understanding*, Zeil also owned *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by the same author in an Italian translation. A German translation of Francis Hutcheson's *Essay on the nature and conduct of the passions and affections* was listed in his library catalogue and also a bilingual edition of Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* in German and English next to a French translation of the same work.

Other contemporary philosophical literature in his library included Immanuel Kant's *Der einzig mögliche Beweisgrund zu einer Demonstration des Daseyns Gottes*, Hermann Daniel Hermes's *Die große Lehre vom Gewissen*, Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart's *System der reinen Philosophie* and Johann Jakob Engel's *Der Philosoph für die Welt*. In addition, Zeil owned a collection of the philosophical writings by Moses Mendelssohn, a separate edition of his *Phaedon* and another philosophical essay on the immortality of the soul by Johann Gustav Reinbeck.

Literature by authors of the French enlightenment was another key area in Zeil's library. It contained many books by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in French and in German translations, including a German version of Rousseau's *Émile ou de l'éducation*, a French edition of *Du contrat social*, a French collection of his works in four volumes published in Amsterdam in 1743, a German edition of all his speeches and several volumes of Rousseau's letters including those addressed to D'Alembert and Voltaire. Zeil's collection of books by Voltaire was similarly extensive: a complete edition of his works in 18 volumes, several editions of his philosophical letters, the satire *Candide, ou l'optimisme*, the theatre play *Olimpie* and further writings were listed in the library catalogue.

A rich collection of French librettos testifies to Zeil's interest in the French theatre: Voltaire's *Olimpie*, Denis Diderot's *Le père de famille*, a collection of Antoine Houdar de la Motte's works and Jean Racine's complete works for the theatre were among his books. Furthermore, a collection in six volumes of French plays performed at the Dresden theatre, *Recueil de pièces de théâtre*, and another anonymous set of French comedies were part of his library as well as 19 unspecified French librettos.

Zeil harboured a comparable enthusiasm for the Italian theatre, too. His library encompassed twelve volumes of comedies by Carlo Goldoni, two copies of Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, three volumes of comedies by Dante and a collection consisting of three volumes of theatrical pieces performed in Venice edited by Pietro

Chiari. Zeil also owned a complete edition of Pietro Metastasio's poetical works in nine volumes, printed in Turin in 1757, which was the same edition as Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart got as a present in Milan in 1770 and which Leopold described as 'one of the finest' editions.⁷⁸

Zeil's estate inventory specifies a large amount of paintings and copper engravings, which were part of his home in Salzburg, and this corresponds well with the wealth of books about art and artists in his library. Zeil owned several descriptions of art galleries, including Christian von Mechel's and Joseph Sebastian Rittershausen's account on the Viennese picture gallery and Johann Nepomuck von Weitzenfeld's book on the gallery at castle Schleißheim in Munich. Roger de Piles's *Historie und Leben der berühmtesten europaeischen Mahler* provided biographical sketches for the most important European painters. Several books by Johann Jakob Dusch, Philipp Gäng and Pierre Estève in Zeil's library deal with more general issues of aesthetics.

The library catalogue lists a small amount of sheet music and musical books, though presumably he owned a lot more music as he was an amateur musician himself. Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, Johann Baptist Samber's *Manuductio ad organum* and Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* were recorded on his book shelves. Three collections of Catholic church songs for the use at church or at school were listed in the library catalogue and two editions of a collection of sacred songs for the devotional performance at home: Johann Georg Schelhorn's *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder* originally provided only new texts to be sung to traditional church melodies, but for the second edition of Schelhorn's collection the Swabian composer Christoph Rheineck wrote 56 new melodies to the songs.

Complete sets of periodicals and local as well as international newspapers were part of Zeil's library. Two yearly cycles of the *Oberdeutsche Staatszeitung*, including the supplements *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* and *Salzburger Kundschaftsblatt*, and eight volumes of not specified Viennese newspapers were listed in the inventory. Zeil owned the entire journal *Hamburgisches Magazin* (1747–62) and its successor *Neues Hamburgisches Magazin* (1767–81). Two literary magazines from Leipzig were also among Zeil's books: firstly, all 18 volumes of *Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und Wachsthum der Wissenschaften*, published by Christian Gottlieb Jöcher between 1740 and 1757, and secondly all published

⁷⁸ *Briefe*, i, 312; *Letters*, 112. For further information on this edition, see Chapter 3.6.

volumes of Gottsched's *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*. In addition, Zeil owned the *Gemeinnütziges Natur- und Kunstmagazin*, which printed essays on natural sciences and manufacturing.

Zeil had 'the recent years' of the *Gazette de Leyde*, which was a crucially important international newspaper for Western Europe in the late eighteenth century. It offered reports on international politics, European topics and issues from further afield such as the American Revolution, and it provided commercial information as well as entertaining social trifles.⁷⁹ A periodical called *Correspondance, litteraire et politique secrete* was also listed in the catalogue: this could refer to Louis-François Mettra's printed newspaper, but there were several hand-written papers circulated with similar titles.

At the end the library catalogue stated that 'apart from these listed books there are several, mostly very numerous and complete collections of smaller writings, essays, documents [and] descriptions'.⁸⁰ For these smaller writings only the subject categories are mentioned, according to which the books were sorted: printed lectures at science academies, books and leaflets on church politics, witchcraft, horse- and bee-keeping, agriculture, policing and almshouses, a 'highly exhaustive' collection of books on numismatics and many more.⁸¹

A number of books on *Bücherkunde*, the science of books and of assembling libraries, suggest that Zeil collected books according to contemporary theories of a well thought-out library. Three volumes of the *Allgemeines Europäisches Bücher-Lexicon* by the Leipzig book trader Theophil Georgi were part of Zeil's library, as well as the *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde* in two volumes by the Viennese court librarian Michael Denis. Caspar Gottschling's *Einleitung in die Wissenschaft guter und meistentheils neuer Bücher* was listed in the catalogue and an anonymous treatise on assembling a 'choice library', *Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für den Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften*.

⁷⁹ For further reading on the *Gazette de Leyde*, see Jeremy D. Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution* (Ithaca, 1989).

⁸⁰ *Verzeichniß sämtlicher Bücher*, 395.

⁸¹ See *Verzeichniß sämtlicher Bücher*, 395–6.

1.1.3 Benedictine friars at the Erzabtei St. Peter

For a long time Catholicism and Enlightenment were viewed as two opposing poles in the struggle for cultural and political change in eighteenth-century Europe. As mentioned above, scholars seriously considered a Catholic enlightenment only during recent decades. These studies document that modern eighteenth-century secular philosophical and social ideals were received and shaped by monks and clerics, too. In particular, the Benedictine monasteries in South Germany with a strong tradition of scholarship and erudition engaged with the challenges of modern times.⁸² The Salzburg university, which was founded and run by a confederation of South German and Austrian Benedictine monasteries, held a particularly prominent position in this Benedictine network. As noted above, existing studies deal with the institutional reforms at the Benedictine university,⁸³ while the following section is concerned with the personal erudition and opinion in aesthetic matters of several poets and authors among the friars at the *Erzabtei St. Peter*. The emerging picture demonstrates that the monks were interested in the modern thought world, in sciences and aesthetics, in similar ways as the nobility of the town.

Just as in North Germany, Johann Christoph Gottsched was accepted as the main guiding authority in literature within the Salzburg literary circles in the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, many of the Salzburg authors admired and emulated Gottsched as the yardstick of modern German poetry. Hans Erich Valentin even speaks of a 'Gottsched-circle' in Salzburg, encompassing the Benedictine monks Marian Wimmer, Placidus Scharl and Florian Reichssiegel and the court trumpeter Johann Andreas Schachtner.⁸⁴

Not much is known about the erudition and opinions of Marian Wimmer, who was professor of grammar at the university and who authored the textbooks for fifteen musical dramas and theatrical pieces performed at the university theatre in Salzburg between 1743 and 1763.⁸⁵ A collection of his Latin dramas, which he wrote for the university stage, was published by Schwarzkopf in Nuremberg in 1764.⁸⁶

⁸² See Ulrich Lehner, *Enlightened Monks, the German Benedictines 1740 – 1803* (Oxford, 2011).

⁸³ See Klueting, 'Salzburg und die Aufklärung'; and Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg'.

⁸⁴ Hans Erich Valentin, "'Was die Bücher anlangt...'" Leopold Mozarts literarische Interessen', *Leopold Mozart 1719–1787*, ed. Ludwig Wegele (Augsburg, 1969), 106.

⁸⁵ See Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* (Vienna, 1978), 332.

⁸⁶ Marian Wimmer, *Tragoediae in Theatro Iuvaviensi exhibitae* (Nuremberg, Schwarzkopf, 1764).

Placidus Scharl's enlightenment leanings were more pronounced. Born in 1731, Scharl was schooled at the monastery of Andechs and displayed a particular talent for music from an early age.⁸⁷ In 1759 he came to Salzburg as a teacher of Latin, poetry and rhetoric. Apparently, the teacher Scharl attached particular importance to correct German grammar and style and based his teachings on Gottsched's *Kern der deutschen Sprachkunst*,⁸⁸ a shortened version of the *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst*. During his time in Salzburg Scharl wrote fifteen works for the university theatre and he also composed the music for many of them.⁸⁹ Scharl's interest was not solely focused on literature and music, but also covered modern natural sciences. After his return to Andechs in 1784, he installed a mathematical-physical museum and established a collection of natural objects at the monastery.⁹⁰

Apart from stage works for the university stage in Salzburg, Scharl published a comprehensive history of the monastery Andechs:⁹¹ notwithstanding its Latin title, the book was written in German, which in itself was a clear statement against traditional notions of learnedness in a Catholic environment. Another historical work written in German never got published: in 1762 Scharl compiled a geography and history of the state Salzburg.⁹² An essay on the fossilisation of wood, which Scharl published in the journal of the Bavarian Academy of Science in 1794, testifies to his growing interest in the natural sciences later in his life.⁹³

Florian Reichssiegel OSB

The third Benedictine monk within the Gottsched-circle was Florian Reichssiegel. Born in 1735, he studied philosophy at the Salzburg university and after graduation entered the Benedictine order at St. Peter in 1754.⁹⁴ In 1769 Reichssiegel was appointed professor of rhetoric and *pater comicus* at the Salzburg university. In the

⁸⁷ The biographical information on Placidus Scharl is based on: Magnus Sattler, *Ein Mönchsleben aus der zweiten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts: nach dem Tagebuche des Placidus Scharl* (Regensburg, 1868); and August Lindner, *Die Schriftsteller und die um Wissenschaft und Kunst verdienten Mitglieder des Benediktiner-Ordens*, i (Regensburg, 1880), 297–8.

⁸⁸ See Lindner, *Die Schriftsteller [...] des Benediktiner-Ordens*, i, 298.

⁸⁹ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 330.

⁹⁰ See Sattler, *Ein Mönchsleben*, 379.

⁹¹ Placidus Scharl, *Historiola Montis Sancti Andecensis : Das ist: Kurtze Geschichts-Beschreibung Von dem jetzt so genannten Heil[igen] Berg Andex*, 3 vols. (Augsburg, Gruber, 1755).

⁹² Placidus Scharl, *Geographie, Historie und Staat des Erzstiftes Salzburg* [D-Mbs, Cgm 6157].

⁹³ Placidus Scharl, 'Von der Versteinerung des Holzes', *Neue philosophische Abhandlungen der Baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vi (Munich, Vötter, 1794), 243–78.

⁹⁴ The biographical information on Pater Florian Reichssiegel is taken from the entry 'Reichssiegel (Reichsigl), Florian Pater OSB' in Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 383–4; and Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, xxv (Vienna, 1873), 180–1.

latter function, he was responsible for the university theatre and the performances there. Reichssiegel authored many school plays, some of which took the form of a *Singspiel* with the music for his plays composed by the court musicians Anton Cajetan Adlgasser and Michael Haydn amongst others. Stylistically, Reichssiegel's *Schuldramen* incorporated aspects of sensibility with an emphasis on the emotional state of the protagonists, but they were still rooted in the old baroque tradition.

The library of St. Peter holds a great number of books that can be identified as belonging to the private library, the so-called *Handbibliothek*, of Pater Florian Reichssiegel.⁹⁵ Not surprisingly for his long occupation as teacher, Reichssiegel owned many educational books: some were written by his colleagues at the Salzburg university Augustin Schelle and Anselm Desing, others came from further afield. Reichssiegel's books included several volumes dealing with modern sciences, in particular geography, such as Johann Jacob Scheuchzer's *Physica oder Natur-Wissenschaft* and Johann Ludwig Hocker's *Einleitung zur Erkenntnis und Gebrauch der Erd- und Himmels-Kugel*. Furthermore, he owned some philosophical works from North Germany and England: his private library included Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's *Betrachtungen über die heroischen Tugenden*, the essay on hospitality *Von der Gastfreundschaft* by the same author and Thomas Hobbes's *Elementa philosophica de cive*. Charles Batteux's *Einleitung in die Schönen Wissenschaften* in the edition translated and enlarged by Karl Wilhelm Ramler and Johann Heinrich Faber's *Anfangsgründe der schönen Wissenschaften* provide a hint on the aesthetical background to Reichssiegel's own writings and on his ideas of the theatre. The preface of the textbook to Reichssiegel's allegorical school-drama *Die Wahrheit der Natur*, published in 1769, confirms his aspirations to fulfil Batteux's and Ramler's aesthetic demands: he claims to have written an 'educational drama' that 'aspires to unite nature with reason and art on all levels' according to Batteux's ideas.⁹⁶

Many collections of poems, satirical writings, fables and theatrical plays can be found among Reichssiegel's books and they show him interested in modern international poetry rather than South German and Austrian works. He owned editions of lyrical poems by Ramler and by Christian Felix Weiße, and fables by Lessing, Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Friedrich August Kazner. A collection of

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Mag. Sonja Führer, librarian of the *Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter*, for sharing information on Florian Reichssiegel's private library with me. For a list of books belonging to Reichssiegel's library and full bibliographical information on the titles mentioned in this section, see Appendix B.

⁹⁶ Florian Reichssiegel, *Die Wahrheit der Natur in den drey irdischen Grazien, nämlich der Dichtkunst, Musik und Malerey* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1769), preface [unpaginated].

writings by Johann Friedrich Cronegk published in Leipzig and Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener's *Satiren* were part of his private library, too. Volumes with poetry by James Thomson and by Alexander Pope in German translations and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's collected plays also show Reichssiegel's bookplate. While this selection of books cannot accurately reflect Reichssiegel's readings and erudition, it does provide an idea of the open-mindedness of a catholic playwright towards modern aesthetic ideals.

Dominikus Hagenauer OSB

Pater Dominikus Hagenauer was the fourth son of Johann Lorenz and Maria Theresia Hagenauer, important merchants of the town and the landlords of the Mozart family in the Getreidegasse. He was born as Kajetan Rupert Hagenauer in 1746.⁹⁷ He entered the monastery St. Peter in 1765 and in 1769 he was ordained as Pater Dominikus. After he graduated from the Salzburg university in 1771 he served as secondary librarian of the abbey for a year before he became responsible for the kitchen of the monastery. In 1786 Pater Dominikus was elected as abbot of St. Peter and he died on 4 June 1811.

To date, the education and erudition of the Hagenauer family did not received any particular attention within Mozart research, as they were mainly seen as a family of merchants and tradesmen. Therefore, their business fortunes and trade network were considered more important than their intellectual horizon. Yet, the selection of books from the private library of Dominikus Hagenauer, which is still in the library of the abbey St. Peter, shows an erudite person, broadly interested in contemporary literature and philosophy.⁹⁸

Hagenauer's private library included a collection of Gessner's writings, Gellert's complete works in ten volumes, Friedrich Rudolph Ludwig von Canitz's poems and Wieland's *Die Dialoge des Diogenes von Sinope*. Among the philosophical books were two volumes of Moses Mendelssohn's philosophical writings, an edition of Mendelssohn's and Johann Caspar Lavater's letters, the moral essays by Alexander Pope in an Italian translation and a selection of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's writings in German, edited and enlarged by Gottsched.

⁹⁷ The biographical information about Dominikus Hagenauer is based on the preface to Dominikus Hagenauer, *Abt Dominikus Hagenauer (1746–1811) von St. Peter in Salzburg. Tagebücher 1786–1810*, ed. Adolf Hahn, Hannelore and Rudolph Angermüller, i (St. Ottilien, 2009), pages X–XIII.

⁹⁸ I am grateful to Mag. Sonja Führer for sharing information on Dominikus Hagenauer's private library with me. For a list of books belonging to Hagenauer's library and full bibliographical information on the titles mentioned in this section, see Appendix C.

Another area of particular interest to Hagenauer were geographically or historically distant cultures. He owned a historical account of Africa by the French orientalist Denis Dominique Cardonnes, a history of the Orient by Alexandre la Pouplinière, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's 'philosophical and political history of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the two Indies' and André Guillaume Contant d'Orville's 'history of different people of the earth'. The *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides in a French translation was also part of his library.

Hagenauer owned Muratori's *Die Wahre Andacht des Christen*, which advocated inner piety instead of outward display of religion, and an essay by the Jesuit Joseph Anton Weißenbach about the tasks and challenges of pastoral care. A German translation of the New Testament and a recapitulation of the Old Testament by François Philippe Mésenguy edited by Marx Anton Wittola, who fought ardently for a Catholic religious Enlightenment, were among Hagenauer's books, too.⁹⁹

1.1.4 Members of the lower nobility in Salzburg

Good education and wide interests in Enlightenment thought, sciences or art were not exclusively limited to the high nobility and the scholarly monks at St. Peter in eighteenth-century Salzburg. Among the lower nobility, the so-called *Beamtenadel*,¹⁰⁰ were many highly erudite people, too. This social class was made up of high-ranking civil servants, which could be secular magistrates as well as ordained priests.

One of these erudite magistrates was Joseph Christoph Anton Mayr. Born in 1710 in Salzburg, he studied civil and church law at the university of his native town and was ordained as priest in 1734.¹⁰¹ From 1755 until his death in 1776 Mayr headed the *Konsistorium*, which was the administrative heart of the archbishopric in state and church matters. At his funeral, a musical cantata was performed by a group of court musicians directed by the court organist Anton Cajetan Adlgasser.¹⁰² The *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* drawn up after Mayr's death on 30 September 1776 values his library at 500 gulden and a detailed catalogue of the library was added to

⁹⁹ For more information on Marx Anton Wittola, see Manfred Brandl, *Marx Anton Wittola* (Steyr, 1974).

¹⁰⁰ For a brief overview on the structure of the Salzburg nobility, see Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 2–4.

¹⁰¹ The biographical information on Mayr is based on Manfred Josef Thaler, *Das Schneeherrenstift am Dom zu Salzburg (1622 bis 1806)* (Frankfurt, 2011), 248–9.

¹⁰² An invoice for the funeral music in Adlgasser's hand is filed with Joseph Christoph Anton Mayr's *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* at the *Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg* [A-Sae, Verlassenschaft, 12/94].

the estate inventory. Mayr's library included many writings by Mabillon and Muratori, who were such a strong influence on an Enlightenment in Salzburg. He owned an exhaustive collection of books by Gottsched and Gellert, librettos and journals on the theatre, Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela or virtue rewarded* and several other English titles. Rousseau's collected speeches, Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, Montesquieu's *De L'esprit des Loix* and Rollin's treatise on the free arts were in his library, too.

Another extraordinary bibliophile member of the Salzburg middle class was Ignaz Johann Nepomuk Kuchardseck. Very little is known about his life:¹⁰³ he came to Salzburg in 1748 as an ordained priest and was preceptor to the *Edelknaben*, a school for noble boys, from 1750 until his death in 1768. Kuchardseck's *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* proclaims that he owned 'an exquisite and numerous stock [of books] from all categories', which 'undoubtedly was worth several thousands [florins]'.¹⁰⁴ Kuchardseck willed his entire library to three beneficiaries: firstly, all French titles went to the court chancellor Felix Anton von Mölk, secondly, all medical books to the priest Johann Wilhelm Ebner, and all remaining books were given to the Salzburg university, where many of his books are still extant today.

Kuchardseck's collection of books ranged from ancient books to the newest literature, from theological treatises to entertaining journals.¹⁰⁵ The oldest volumes in Kuchardseck's library were published in the sixteenth century and several books date from the seventeenth century, as for example Niccolò Machiavelli's *De officio Viri Principis*, Erasmus of Rotterdam's treatise *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus* or Johann Joachim Becher's work *Närrische Weisheit und weise Narrheit*. Beyond a large corpus of catholic theological books the library catalogue lists many philosophical works from Northern Germany and England. Kuchardseck obviously was highly interested in Christian Wolff's writings and he owned Francis Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* and *Inquiry concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony and Design* in German translations among further works by English authors such as Francis Bacon, David Hume and Thomas Hobbes.

¹⁰³ The little information there is regarding Kuchardseck's life, is summarised in: Thaler, *Das Schneeherrenstift*, 222–3.

¹⁰⁴ Kuchardseck's *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* is held at the *Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg* [A-Sae, Verlassenschaft, 12/92].

¹⁰⁵ The following account of Kuchardseck's library is based on his *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* [A-Sae, Verlassenschaft, 12/92] and my own research at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*. For a list of books from his library and detailed bibliographical information on the books mentioned, see Appendix D.

Kuchardseck's collection of 713 French books included a large amount of Voltaire's writings in compilations and single editions, Rousseau's *Émile ou de l'éducation*, his *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique*, his letters and François Fénelon's philosophical and educational works.

Poetry by Albrecht von Haller, Hagedorn, Canitz and Gottsched are listed in his library catalogue. Besides a collection of Gottsched's poems Kuchardseck owned his *Sprachkunst*, *Dichtkunst* and two editions of the *Redekunst*. Gellert's fables and letters and some works by Lessing were also among Kuchardseck's books.

Kuchardseck apparently was greatly interested in the modern phenomenon of moral periodicals: these periodicals originated in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most famous publications being *The Tatler*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*. Their success led to a great many imitations and translations of excerpts from these periodicals being published on the continent. Kuchardseck owned German translations of *The Guardian* and *The Spectator* by Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched, a journal called *Der französische Zuschauer*, the German weekly *Der Patriot* and *Der Freydenker*, published in Gdansk 1742-3.

Franz Felix Anton Mölk, who inherited all of Kuchardseck's French books, studied at the Jesuit universities in Dillingen and Ingolstadt and in 1742 he spent a year in Frankfurt at the *Reichstag*.¹⁰⁶ He was taken into employment by the Salzburg court, first as councillor and then from 1752 on as chancellor. He was married to Maria Anna Wasner von Wasenau and they had five children.

Their second son, Albert Andreas Eligius von Mölk, born in 1748, was destined to become a priest.¹⁰⁷ He studied theology in Salzburg and at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. Mölk's studies in Rome were heavily influential for his strong support of a reformed Catholicism, as propagated by Muratori and his followers. In 1771 he returned to Salzburg and became one of the most important advisors and collaborators for archbishop Colloredo in his church reforms in Salzburg.

In line with his strong Enlightenment leanings, he actively promoted Enlightenment ideas and erudition within Salzburg society. In 1784, Mölk belonged to the founding members of the Salzburg *Lesegesellschaft*. This 'reading society' acquired periodicals and books from near and far afield to be shared among the members. A notice in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* states the aim of the

¹⁰⁶ The biographical information on Franz Felix Anton Mölk is based on: Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 298.

¹⁰⁷ The biographical information on Albert Andreas Eligius Mölk is based on: Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 299.

Lesegesellschaft: it is hoped that the members of the reading society will spread the 'delicious fruits of the enlightenment' throughout their home country.¹⁰⁸ In its year of foundation, the governing board of the *Lesegesellschaft* consisted of Mölk, Georg Johann Josef von Rehlingen, vice equerry at the court, the court councillors Joseph Ernst Gilowsky von Urazowa and Ferdinand von Schidenhofen, the judge Judas Thaddäus Zauner and the merchant Christian Zezi.¹⁰⁹

The only daughter of the Mölk family, Maria Barbara Anna Mölk, was born in 1752. Nothing is known about her formal education, but a few books are held at the university library in Salzburg, which are signed by Barbara Mölk. Three educational writings by the French governess Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, who privately educated noble children in France and then later in London, belonged to Barbara Mölk: the *Magasin des adolescentes*,¹¹⁰ the *Magasin des jeunes dames*¹¹¹ and the *Magasin des pauvres, artisans, domestiques et gens de la campagne*.¹¹² All three works aim at the moral and intellectual education of the readers, the first specifically tailored for the youth, the second for young ladies and the third *Magasin* paints the beauties of a simple arcadian lifestyle. These books provide a glimpse into the education of an upper-class girl in Salzburg: first of all, Barbara Mölk's knowledge of the French language was proficient enough to read these writings. Secondly, the Salzburg citizenship strove for a modern educational ideal, which united the education of the heart and the mind.¹¹³ A collection of Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener's letters¹¹⁴ and Wieland's heroic comic poem *Idris* were also among the books of Barbara Mölk.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ See *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* 1784 (4 April 1784), 55.

¹⁰⁹ See *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* 1784 (8 March 1784), 40. No list of members of the reading society survives.

¹¹⁰ Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des adolescentes, en dialogues entre une sage gouvernante* (The Hague, Gosse, 1761) [A-Su, 61793 I/1-4].

¹¹¹ Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des jeunes dames qui entrent dans le monde se marient* (London, Knoch & Eslinger, 1764) [A-Su, 160489 I/1-4].

¹¹² Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Le Magasin des pauvres, artisans, domestiques et gens de la campagne* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1768) [A-Su, 162952 I/1-2].

¹¹³ For more information on Leprince de Beaumont's works, see Chapter 3.2.

¹¹⁴ Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener, *Briefe, vom ihm selbst gesammelt*, ed. Christian Felix Weiße (Leipzig, s.n., 1772) [A-Su, 74464 I].

¹¹⁵ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Idris, Ein heroisch-comisches Gedicht* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1768) [A-Su, 72542 I].

1.1.5 Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen

Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen was born in 1747 into a dynasty of high-ranking Salzburg civil servants, which lived in or near Salzburg since the early sixteenth century.¹¹⁶ Schidenhofen went to school in Kremsmünster, a place that was well-known for the progressiveness of its teachings. He studied in Salzburg and was awarded a doctorate of civil and church law. He might have been member of a masonic lodge,¹¹⁷ but this supposition is not documented. In 1770 Schidenhofen lived some time in Vienna and in the following year he was officially employed at the Salzburg court administration, having been an *Akzessist*, an unpaid employee in the waiting for a salaried position, since 1769. He rose to the rank of chancellor of the Salzburg county by 1791 and served in this position until 1812. Schidenhofen died on 31 January 1823, aged 76.

Nowadays, Schidenhofen is primarily remembered for his diary, which he kept between 1774 and 1778 and which is a rich source of information on cultural life and life in general in Salzburg. Mozart scholars paid particular attention to these diaries, as Schidenhofen was a close friend of the family. His name occurs regularly in the Mozarts' correspondence from 1768 until 1787, the year of Leopold Mozart's death.¹¹⁸ He was a member of the Mozarts' shooting company and a regular guest at their home. Many concerts and musical parties are noted in Schidenhofen's diaries, including over 80 instances in which members of the Mozart family were involved.¹¹⁹ In the following, I will first describe Schidenhofen's interests based on his diaries, before giving a short description of his library.

Schidenhofen was an enthusiastic participant of cultural events in the city, be it musical, theatrical or otherwise. In particular the performances at the municipal theatre, which opened in 1775, enthused Schidenhofen to a point that he can be said to be a prime example of a citizen infected by the 'theatre-fever', which Riesbeck describes in his report from Salzburg.¹²⁰ Schidenhofen attended nearly all the performances given on the Salzburg stage and recorded the titles of almost every performance in his diary for several seasons, even if he was unable to attend himself. Thus Schidenhofen's diaries give us a clear knowledge of the repertoire during the first couple of seasons at the Salzburg theatre.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ For further information on the Schidenhofen family, see *SchidenhofenDiary*, IX–XI.

¹¹⁷ See *SchidenhofenDiary*, X.

¹¹⁸ For a list of letters in which Schidenhofen is mentioned, see *SchidenhofenDiary*, XII–XVIII.

¹¹⁹ See Ammerer and Angermüller, *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 427.

¹²⁰ See Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 207.

¹²¹ For details on theatrical life in Salzburg, see Chapter 4.3.

Schidenhofen attended all sorts of musical performances, too: serenades and birthday or wedding performances for the nobility, house concerts at the Mozarts' and other homes, performances by students at the end of the academic year, musical sledge rides and musical performances at the coffee house Staiger in Salzburg. He himself had some musical skills, too, as he noted twice in his diary that 'we made music' as part of social gatherings with his friends.¹²² It is unclear if he was able to play an instrument or whether he was singing or just participating in some other way in the communal music making.

Schidenhofen had a lively interest in natural sciences, too: he was friends with Pater Dominikus Beck, whose public lectures on experimental physics he attended.¹²³ Schidenhofen would sometimes visit Beck privately, as on 18 January 1777, when Beck demonstrated to him a 'new electrical machine' and an experiment in which a 'light that was held close to an electrical matter would cancel out all its vigour'.¹²⁴ In June of the same year, Schidenhofen rode to the *Weiser Hof*, in order to inspect the new lightning conductors that the councillor and merchant Franz Xaver von Weiser installed in front of his house.¹²⁵ Modern field measurement and topographical mapping interested Schidenhofen, too.¹²⁶

Schidenhofen and his friends also owned some modern optical equipment¹²⁷ and he noted a total lunar eclipse in Salzburg in his diary: the lunar eclipse in the early hours of 31 July 1776 'reached its point of culmination around 1 o'clock [...] and put the streets into a darkness, as I could not remember to have ever seen before'.¹²⁸

Another fashionable hobby of the time that Schidenhofen apparently engaged in was the cutting and collecting of silhouettes. According to his diary entry on 6 March 1776 he 'painted the young [Ferdinand von] Geyer and the councillor [Franz Albert Kajetan von] Mölk in silhouette'.¹²⁹

Schidenhofen had wide literary interests and his visits to book shops or book auctions were important enough to him to merit a mention in his diary. Three visits to book dealers in Salzburg are recorded in the diary, all of which took place during the spring or autumn fairs in Salzburg.¹³⁰ So presumably it was the large trading

¹²² See *SchidenhofenDiary*, 87 & 261.

¹²³ See e.g. *SchidenhofenDiary*, 259.

¹²⁴ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 220–1.

¹²⁵ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 259.

¹²⁶ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 172.

¹²⁷ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 167–8.

¹²⁸ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 172.

¹²⁹ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 141.

¹³⁰ See *SchidenhofenDiary*, 136, 184 & 279.

stock of the foreign book dealers that made his visits to a book shop noteworthy.¹³¹ In January 1776, Schidenhofen visited Munich for part of the carnival season together with several of his Salzburg friends. On Tuesday 23 January he noted: 'Then [I] went with Gilowskj¹³² to the book shops'.¹³³ The wording suggests that the two friends browsed several shops for interesting books. Three days later, the two friends visited the book dealer Charles Fontaine, who owned book shops in Mannheim and Munich,¹³⁴ and Schidenhofen 'chose some French books for himself'.¹³⁵ Schidenhofen and Gilowsky, who were both members of the first governing board of the Salzburg *Lesegesellschaft* in 1784, clearly shared an enthusiasm for French writings: in January 1777 Schidenhofen and Gilowsky 'read in the Voltaire, which [Gilowsky] bought recently, brand new in a beautiful edition [...] with copper engravings [...] in 40 volumes for 84 gulden'.¹³⁶

Schidenhofen had the opportunity to buy more French books at the public sale of Franz Felix Anton von Mölk's library, which took place around the turn of the year 1776 to 1777. As mentioned above, Mölk inherited all of Ignaz Kuchardseck's 713 volumes of French books in 1768. Between 28 December 1776 and 7 January 1777 Schidenhofen went to the auction several times, sometimes twice a day, and on at least one occasion he bought some books.¹³⁷ Another public sale that Schidenhofen attended according to his diary took place in December 1775: on 18 December the picture collection of the Salzburg clerk Jakob Anton Hilzensauer was auctioned off and his library was for sale on the following day.¹³⁸

Among Schidenhofen's estate documents is a library catalogue with 1406 numbered entries, many of which subsume several volumes.¹³⁹ Today, many of the books from Schidenhofen's estate are extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*. He

¹³¹ See Chapter 1.2.2 below for more information on foreign book traders visiting Salzburg during the fairs.

¹³² Joseph Ernst Gilowsky von Urazowa.

¹³³ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 125.

¹³⁴ See Jeffrey Freedman, 'Zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Buchhändler als Kulturvermittler', *Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch: Frankreich-Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, i (Leipzig, 1997), 486–7.

¹³⁵ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 129.

¹³⁶ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 220. According to Angermüller, this is the edition *Oeuvres de Voltaire*, 40 vols. (Geneva, Cramer, 1775).

¹³⁷ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 215–7.

¹³⁸ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 113–4.

¹³⁹ Joachim Ferdinand Schidenhofen's estate inventory is kept at the *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, Stadtgericht Salzburg, Verlassenschaft VI 1899/1823]. The information in the following section is entirely based on these archival records and my own research at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*. For detailed bibliographical information on the books, see Appendix E.

owned a large amount of French and Italian dictionaries, including Jean Robert des Pepliers's *La Parfaite Grammaire Royale Francoise et Allemande* and Giovanni Veneroni's *Il Dittionario imperiale*, both of which the Mozarts also owned.¹⁴⁰ Proper German grammar and style were also a concern for Schidenhofen, as for so many of his fellow citizens, and he owned several of Gottsched's works on the German language. Johann Gottlob von Justi's *Anweisung zu einer guten Deutschen Schreibart* was a book on drafting business letters and contracts and August Bohse's *Der allzeit fertige Briefsteller* provided advice for writing personal and business letter.

A great amount of Gellert's writings were among Schidenhofen's books, including Gellert's *Geistliche Lieder*. He also owned Klopstock's *Geistliche Lieder* and several books by Lessing. The then current Anglomania infected Schidenhofen regarding novels and poetry: Laurence Sterne's *A sentimental Journey*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise regained* and a collection of the complete works by Edward Young in five volumes were part of his library, all in German translations. He owned a collection of William Shakespeare's poetical and prosaic writings in German translation by Johann Joachim Eschenburg. The highly successful German sentimental novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* by Johann Timotheus Hermes, from which Wolfgang Amadé Mozart set some texts in his songs,¹⁴¹ was in Schidenhofen's library, too.

Some philosophical books were listed in the catalogue of Schidenhofen's library. Among these, many current publications from North Germany could be found, such as Johann Jakob Engel's *Der Philosoph für die Welt*, Gottsched's *Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit* or Johann Christian Förster's *Anweisung die Weltweisheit vernünftig zu erlernen*. Schidenhofen also owned Voltaire's *Prix de la Justice et de l'Humanité* in an anonymous German translation.

Further books document Schidenhofen's lively interest in gardening and agriculture and the estate inventory also lists some sheet music as part of his belongings, but these are not nearer specified. The only book related to music named is a copy of the first edition of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*.¹⁴² Schidenhofen's literary interests are strikingly close to the Mozarts' interests, which I will describe below,¹⁴³ in particular regarding the novels.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 3.5.

¹⁴¹ Wolfgang Mozart set three songs to texts by Johann Timotheus Hermes: *Ich würd' auf meinem Pfad*, K390; *Sei du mein Trost*, K391; *Verdankt sei es dem Glanz der Großen*, K392.

¹⁴² This volume, possibly given to Schidenhofen by the author himself, is extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, R 3203 I].

¹⁴³ See Chapter 3.

1.2 The book trade in Salzburg

While in general the study of the book trade in view of the European Enlightenment received new attention during recent years,¹⁴⁴ the book market and the distribution channels of books in Salzburg in the second half of the eighteenth century are still largely unknown. Only two fairly dated studies deal in detail with book trading and printing in Salzburg.¹⁴⁵ More recently, Friedrich Breitingers collection of biographical information on Salzburg craftspeople in the eighteenth century provides some biographical details on the local book traders.¹⁴⁶ In addition to the local bookshops, several itinerant book traders came to Salzburg for the two annual fairs in spring and in autumn. This area was hitherto entirely neglected by all authors, even though the participating book traders and their sales stock can be reconstructed to a large degree.

Konrad Kürner founded the first printing press in Salzburg at some point during the 1590s and also opened a book shop.¹⁴⁷ The Mayr family acquired both parts of Kürners business, the press and the shop, around 1650 and the venture prospered under their ownership as the official court and university bookshop and publisher. In 1775 the director Anna Viktoria Konhauser (née Mayr) was forced by archbishop Colloredo to sell the printing presses, the bookshop and all official printing privileges to the *Waisenhaus*, because the firm issued a reprint of a book, in which the Franciscan monk Clarentius Pschaidler condemned the abolition of church holidays.¹⁴⁸ Konhauser was left with one bookshop in Salzburg, the so-called *Ekebrechtsche Buchhandlung*, which she took over from Johann Philipp Augustin Ekebrecht in 1770.¹⁴⁹ She continued to be highly active as book trader, visiting the book fairs in Leipzig in 1778 and 1779¹⁵⁰ and importing many books from north Germany and foreign countries. Several published sales catalogues document the stock and trade channels of her business.

¹⁴⁴ See Jeffrey Freedman, *Books Without Borders in Enlightenment Europe* (Philadelphia, 2012); or *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe* (FBTEE) project by Simon Burrows and Vincent Hiribarren, <<http://fbtee.uws.edu.au>> [accessed on 25 April 2015].

¹⁴⁵ See Maria Vinzenz Süss, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Typographie und des Buchhandels im vormaligen Erzstifte nun Herzogthume Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1845); and Hans Glaser, 'Salzburgs Buchdrucker', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, xcvi (1958), 149–98.

¹⁴⁶ Friedrich Breiting, Kurt Weinkamer and Gerda Dohle, eds., *Handwerker, Brauer, Wirte und Händler – Salzburgs gewerbliche Wirtschaft zur Mozartzeit* (Salzburg, 2009), 191–5.

¹⁴⁷ See Breiting, *Handwerker, Brauer, Wirte und Händler*, 191; and Carl Junker, *Zum Buchwesen in Österreich*, ed. Murray G. Hall (Vienna, 2001), 342.

¹⁴⁸ [Clarentius Pschaidler], *Frage, ob die Abstellung der Feyertäge bey jeztmaligen Weltlauf christlich, und zu billigen seye?* (Frankfurt, s.n., 1773).

¹⁴⁹ Breiting, *Handwerker, Brauer, Wirte und Händler*, 192.

¹⁵⁰ See *Buchhändlerzeitung auf das Jahr 1778* (Hamburg, Bohn, 1780), 198.

1.2.1 The sales catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* in Salzburg

An inventory, which Anna Konhauser drew up preceding the enforced sale of her business to the *Waisenhaus* in 1775, gives an idea of the vast numbers of books held in stock at the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung*: books printed by Mayr were valued at 32,300 florins and the value of books from other publishers amounted to 12,413 florins.¹⁵¹

From 1781 onwards the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* published a detailed catalogue of its stock in monthly installments.¹⁵² Most obvious from these *Monatliche Anzeigen*, which according to the preface were to a large degree a retrospective catalogue, is the comprehensive stock of the newest novels and poetry from North Germany.¹⁵³ Gellert and Wieland held a particular appeal for the Salzburg readership: three complete editions of Gellert's works were sold by Mayr and many of his writings were also available separately. Wieland's novels, poems and philosophical writings were advertised in several editions, making him the most frequently listed author in the catalogues. Many of the novels sold by Mayr were printed by Christian Gottlieb Schmieder in Karlsruhe, who released a series called *Sammlung der besten prosaischen Schriftsteller und Dichter* from 1774 onwards. In this series Schmieder issued a huge amount of German literature and Mayr distributed the collected editions of works by Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, Ewald von Kleist, Salomon Gessner, Johann Peter Uz, Johann Georg Jacobi and Friedrich von Hagedorn. A selection of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's writings and many of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's works were sold by Mayr, too.

The local readership apparently loved Anacreontic poetry and works that we now would consider to be typically sentimental or *empfindsam*. Mayr's selection of German novels included a large number of obscure, but explicitly sentimental titles such as *Erzählungen für fühlende Herzen* or *Erzählungen und Geschichten theils lehrreichen und angenehmen, theils empfindsamen Inhalts*. More famous *empfindsam* novels and odes were to be had at the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung*, too. Mayr offered two different editions of Klopstock's *Messias*, his *Hermanns-Schlacht*, Johann Martin Miller's *Siegwart* and Sophie de la Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*.

¹⁵¹ Cited according to Süss, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Typographie*, 10.

¹⁵² *Monatliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Salzburg in der Johann Joseph Mayrs sel. Erbin Buchhandlung zu haben sind*, 4 vols. (Salzburg, Mayr, 1781–4) [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 331].

¹⁵³ For a list of titles and bibliographical information, see Appendix F, table (a).

A large amount of English sentimental literature was distributed by Mayr, too:¹⁵⁴ two versions of Laurence Sterne's novel *A sentimental Journey* (the German translation by Johann Joachim Christoph Bode and a Parisian print of the English original), Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* and his *Letters from Yorrick to Eliza* in translations, Samuel Richardson's *History of Sir Charles Grandison*, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and its sequel *Paradise regained*. Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* was available in an English and a German edition, as were the *Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* by Edward Young and two editions of Alexander Pope's complete works. A whole section of English titles appears in Mayr's index in 1781: poems by Joseph Addison, *The History of Tom Jones* by Henry Fielding and Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, which was the most frequently published English novel in Germany during the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁵ In addition, Mayr stocked the anthology of English literature *Brittisches Museum für die Deutschen* edited by Johann Joachim Eschenburg.

The sheer amount and breadth of modern philosophical books from France, England and Northern Germany in Mayr's catalogues points to a lively interest of large parts of the citizenship in intellectual and philosophical debates of the times, beyond the confines of the university or the court.¹⁵⁶ Writings by Moses Mendelssohn, Johann August Eberhard, Johann Georg Heinrich Feder, Johann Caspar Lavater, Johann Georg Walch and Johann Georg Zimmermann were available at the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung*. Works by the French philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire feature frequently in the catalogues: a collection of Rousseau's works, his complete speeches and *Émile, ou de l'éducation*. Works by Voltaire included a German translation of *Prix de la justice et de l'humanité* and a collection of his writings in six volumes, titled *Vermischte Schriften*. Mayr sold some books by English philosophers, too: Henry Home's *Elements of Criticism* and Shaftesbury's *Inquiry concerning Virtue* were available in German translations.

Mayr advertised a wide selection of writings on the arts and aesthetics.¹⁵⁷ No less than three translations of Charles Batteux's work on the fine arts *Les beaux arts réduit à un même principe* were listed in Mayr's catalogue, in addition to Charles Rollin's *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles lettres*. Further works focusing on aesthetics include writings by Johann Georg Sulzer, Carl Ludwig Junker and Christian Daniel

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix F, table (b).

¹⁵⁵ See Jennifer Willenberg, *Distribution und Übersetzung englischen Schrifttums im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2008), 123.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix F, table (c).

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix F, table (d).

Friedrich Schubart. Joshua Reynolds's lectures on the study and value of paintings were distributed by Mayr in a German translation and also more general aesthetic discussions by Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Gottfried Herder.

The large amount of theatre plays and books about the theatre within the sales catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* provides further proof to the theatre fever in the city.¹⁵⁸ Mayr dealt with hundreds of individual editions of German comedies and tragedies, some of which might have been used as textbooks to follow actual performances of the plays at the theatre. Mayr also advertised collected editions of Christian Felix Weiße's and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's plays. According to Mayr's sales catalogues, the lively debate surrounding Lessing's plays, in particular *Nathan der Weise*, had interested followers in Salzburg: Friedrich Wilhelm Schütz's *Apologie*, *Lessings dramatisches Gedicht Nathan den Weisen betreffend* and Balthasar Ludwig Tralles's discussion of the same play were both listed in the catalogues. A book by Anton Klein on 'Lessing's opinion of the heroic tragedy' and one on Lessing's play *Emilia Galotti* appeared several times in the catalogues. Furthermore, the interested Salzburg reader was able to acquire two extended reviews by Klein of performances at the Mannheim theatre: one examined a performance of the tragedy *Agnes Bernauerin* and the other dealt with the Singspiel *Rosamunde* with a libretto by Wieland set to music by Anton Schweitzer. The *Kurzgefaßte Nachrichten von den bekanntesten deutschen Nationalbühnen* and the *Theaterjournal für Deutschland* informed the Salzburg public on the playlists, the performers, the size and the facilities of theatres throughout Germany and also included discussions of plays and entertaining anecdotes on theatre life.

A prominent feature of the Enlightenment was its focus on education and many modern educational books appear in Mayr's catalogues.¹⁵⁹ As mentioned above, Mayr stocked Rousseau's *Émile* and also the book arguing against this modern education by the Roman Cardinal Gerdil. Furthermore, Mayr sold educational works by Joachim Heinrich Campe, Georg Niklas Brehm and several anonymous instruction books, such as *Vorschläge zum glücklichen Unterricht eines Knaben*, *Beobachtungen zur Aufklärung des Verstandes*, or *Briefe zur Ausbildung des Gemüths an ein junges Frauenzimmer gerichtet*.

Mayr's catalogue listings document the wide interest in and care for good written and spoken style.¹⁶⁰ Gottsched's works were particularly well represented in Mayr's

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix F, table (e).

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix F, table (f).

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix F, table (g).

catalogues, but also the newer and more systematic writings on language and style by Johann Christoph Adelung featured repeatedly in the index. Mayr sold many books on *Beredsamkeit*: some of these were collections of exemplary speeches, as for example Matthäus Johann Schulze's *Muster der Beredsamkeit* or the anonymously published *Die deutsche Beredsamkeit*, others, such as a treatise by Joseph Hebenstreit, offered a theorising approach to eloquence.

The inhabitants of Salzburg filled their leisure time with the same pastimes that burgeoned in Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century. The catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* reflect diverse fashionable trends such as the collection of portraits and copper engravings, the exchange of silhouettes or the interest in gardening.¹⁶¹ Carl Ludwig Juncker's *Erste Grundlage zu einer ausgesuchten Sammlung Kupferstiche* provided a guide to assemble a choice collection of copper etchings. A first foundation for this collection could be purchased at Mayr's bookshop, too: Mayr advertised several silhouettes and portraits of famous people and also a 'Concise treatise on silhouettes' by Friedrich Christoph Müller. The fashion of collecting silhouettes was intimately connected to Johann Kaspar Lavater's ideas on physiognomy: according to Lavater one could tell the character of a man by examining several features of the profile of his or her head. Although Lavater's main work *Physiognomische Fragmente* was not listed in Mayr's catalogues, other titles suggest the currency of these ideas in Salzburg: the booklet *Zufällige Gedanken über Herrn Lavaters Physiognomische Fragmente*, published by Johann Christian Hendel in Halle in 1776, was a critique of Lavater's work chiding it for its naiveté and narcissism. Friedrich Christoph Müller's *Physiognomisches Cabinet*, on the other hand, was an abstract of Lavater's ideas, compressing his four folio volumes into one handy book.

The aesthetic of the picturesque was a formative ideal in gardening during the late eighteenth century, which played on the visual impression of the landscape and the sentiments this could arouse. Several titles on gardening and *Gartenkunst*, promoting this ideal, were available at the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* in the 1780s. Mayr stocked Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's highly influential *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, together with *Das Landleben* and other books by the same author. In addition, the interested reader could purchase treatises by the Scottish botanist John Abercrombie and by Christian Ludwig Krause.

¹⁶¹ See Appendix F, table (h).

1.2.2 The itinerant book traders at the Salzburg fairs

Several itinerant book traders came to Salzburg for the two annual fairs in spring and autumn. The autumn fair was called *Ruperti-Dult*, as it took place around 24 September, which was the feast day of the patron saint of Salzburg, St. Rupertus. The date of the fair in spring around 27 March was also linked to the patron saint of the city, as this was the day of his death. The history of both fairs reached back to the fourteenth century and they were important trading opportunities for international merchants from Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Italy. Count Zinzendorf's official report on Salzburg which he compiled for the court in Vienna confirms the international character of the goods traded at the Salzburg fair:

Very many tradespeople attending the Salzburg fairs come from Augsburg, Regensburg, Munich and also Switzerland and merchants from Carinthia, Crain [which is Slovenia today], Tyrol and so forth buy their goods.¹⁶²

Goods on the east-west transit route from Vienna to Switzerland also passed through Salzburg and the transport of the goods between Vienna and Munich was entirely in the hands of Salzburg hauliers.¹⁶³

Archival evidence for the visiting book traders survives for the year 1774, when the following names are listed 'as having paid lantern-duty' at the fair:¹⁶⁴ the four Augsburg book traders Elias Tobias Lotter, Albert Friedrich Bartholomai, Joseph Wolff and the *Klettische Erben*,¹⁶⁵ a certain Anton Holzer¹⁶⁶ and Wolfgang Schwarzkopf from Nuremberg.¹⁶⁷ Tobias Elias Lotter was the brother of Leopold Mozart's friend and publisher Johann Jakob Lotter and Schwarzkopf features several times in Leopold's letters acting as an intermediary for his dealings with the publisher Breitkopf in Leipzig.¹⁶⁸ In fact, Schwarzkopf's presence at the Salzburg fairs is securely documented by the Mozart family correspondence for both fairs in the years 1770,¹⁶⁹ 1771¹⁷⁰ and 1778,¹⁷¹ for the autumn fair in 1779¹⁷² and the spring fair in 1781.¹⁷³

¹⁶² 'Auf die Salzburger Jahrmärkte kommen sehr viele Augspurger, Regenspurger, Münchner, auch Schweizerische Kaufleute, von welchen sodann Cärnthner, Crainer, Tyroler und so weiter ihre Waaren abnehmen.' Martin, 'Vom Salzburger Fürstenhof', 202.

¹⁶³ See Martin, 'Vom Salzburger Fürstenhof', 202.

¹⁶⁴ *Archiv der Stadt Salzburg* [A-Ss, Pezoltakten 273].

¹⁶⁵ For further information on these book traders, see Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Dokumentation: Augsburger Buchdrucker und Verleger', *Augsburger Buchdruck & Verlagswesen* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 1205–1340.

¹⁶⁶ It has not been possible to identify a book trader Anton Holzer.

¹⁶⁷ For biographical information on Schwarzkopf (often also spelled Schwartzkopf), see Manfred H. Grieb, ed., *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon*, iii (Munich, 2007), 1411.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g., *Briefe*, ii, 546; and *Briefe*, iii, 147–9 (both not in *Letters*).

¹⁶⁹ *Briefe*, i, 318; and *Briefe*, i, 389 (both not in *Letters*).

For these itinerant book traders several sales catalogues from the 1770s could be traced.¹⁷⁴ Catalogues of Wolfgang Schwarzkopf's firm survive for the years 1771 to 1776. Schwarzkopf did not explicitly state on his catalogues that the books listed were available at the Salzburg fairs, but we can safely assume this for the years, when Schwarzkopf attended the Salzburg fairs.

Joseph Wolff calls himself on the title page of his sales catalogue from 1760 'Catholic book trader in Augsburg and Innsbruck during the entire year and on both fairs in Hall in Tirol and in Salzburg'.¹⁷⁵ In 1774 Wolff started issuing a 'monthly advertiser' listing his stock of books for sale in his shop in Augsburg. A complete set of these monthly advertisers covering the years 1774 until 1778 is extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*.¹⁷⁶ In the preface to the first installment Wolff announces that

because I also issue this same book catalogue at the Salzburg fairs, obviously many a book will be listed, which I will not have with me at the fair. [...] Yet, I will endeavour to supply any missing [book] within a short time.¹⁷⁷

The *Wienbibliothek im Rathaus* in Vienna holds catalogues by Tobias Elias Lotter from the years 1774, 1776 and 1777.¹⁷⁸ The title pages of the catalogues state that the books listed could be purchased at the shop in Augsburg 'as well as at both Salzburg fairs'.

On the whole these catalogues of itinerant book traders visiting the Salzburg fairs confirm that the newest European literature was available in the city during the 1770s. A large amount of writings by north German philosophers, such as Mendelssohn, Walch, Feder and Gottsched, was available in Salzburg via these book

¹⁷⁰ *Briefe*, i, 390 and *Briefe*, i, 434 (both not in *Letters*).

¹⁷¹ *Briefe*, ii, 323; and *Briefe*, ii, 493 (both not in *Letters*).

¹⁷² *Briefe*, ii, 546; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷³ *Briefe*, iii, 92; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷⁴ For a list of extant sales catalogues of book traders visiting the Salzburg fairs, see Appendix G.

¹⁷⁵ Joseph Wolff, *Catalogus Librorum* (Augsburg, Wolff, 1760). The particular emphasis on his Catholic roots must be read in light of the fact that Protestant publishers and book traders from Augsburg dominated the market in the Catholic regions of South Germany and upper Austria in mid-eighteenth century (see Josef Mancal, 'Zum Augsburger Druck-, Verlags- und Handelswesen im Musikalienbereich am ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert', *Augsburger Buchdruck & Verlagswesen*, eds. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden, 1997), 877).

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix G.

¹⁷⁷ 'Da ich diese nämliche Bücheranzeige auch auf den Salzburger Märkten ausbebe, so wird freylich manches Buch darinn stehen, welches auf dem Markt eben nicht vorrätig ist, [...] doch wird man sich mühe geben, das fehlende in kurzem nachzuliefern.' Wolff, *Monatliche Anzeige von Büchern* (Augsburg, 1774), preface [unpaginated].

¹⁷⁸ To my knowledge, these are the only surviving copies of catalogues by Elias Tobias Lotter. See Appendix G.

traders in the 1770s. The important luminaries of French and English philosophy featured frequently in their catalogues: Lotter for example sold books by Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu, and Wolff advertised writings by Hutcheson, Home and Shaftesbury. Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* was available from the book trader Schwarzkopf in 1775 and at the *Wolffische Buchhandlung* in 1776 and Wolff's catalogue listed Batteux's and Rollin's treatises on the fine arts. The Salzburg public was able buy German educational books by Campe, Gellert and Johann Heinrich Ernesti from Wolff and Lotter at the fairs. In addition, Formey's *Anti-Emile* and an array of writings by the French educator Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont were available. Wolff advertised the complete works by Gottsched on linguistics, poetry and philosophy. A huge amount of novels and theatre plays were available from the itinerant book sellers: Lotter, Wolff and Schwarzkopf all dealt with the newest fiction and librettos. All three dealers traded with sheet music, musical tutors and theory books, too, as Chapter 5.2 will discuss in detail.

Chapter 2 Leopold Mozart and Enlightenment

I made the acquaintance here of a certain Sig. Mozard, *maestro di capella* to the Bishop of Salzburg, a refined man of spirit and of the world; and who, I believe, knows his business well, both in music and in other things. [...] The said Sig. Mozard is a very polished and civil man, and the children are very well brought up.¹

These sentences come from a letter that the composer Johann Adolph Hasse wrote in 1769 to his friend Giovanni Maria Ortes. 'A refined man of spirit and the world', who knows his business in music and in other things, civil manners and his achievement in educating his children – these qualities summarise Leopold Mozart's contemporary public image. Leopold's rank as composer, performer and teacher was widely acknowledged in the eighteenth century. In 1766 Johann Adam Hiller referred to Leopold as 'a chamber musician in princely service, who apart from his compositions earned much fame with his *Violin School*' and he commended the father and teacher Leopold 'since he knew how to discover easy ways and means of making a matter [i.e. music] comprehensible and easy for children which at times is not readily grasped by older and adult persons'.² In a review of the *Violinschule*, published in 1757, the Berlin music critic Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg enthused about Leopold and his treatise, which shows 'the thorough and accomplished virtuoso, the reasonable methodical teacher, the learned musician – these characteristics, each of which alone makes a man of merit, are all here revealed in one'.³ Two years later, Marpurg opened his new music periodical *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* with a letter addressed to Leopold, who was a 'person of merit, insight and taste'.⁴

When Charles Burney met Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart at a concert in Bologna in August 1770, he noted in his travel diary that he 'had a long conversation with the father [Leopold]', whom he described glowingly as 'so able a musician and intelligent a man'.⁵ Friedrich Melchior Grimm, although admittedly biased by his

¹ Johann Adolph Hasse to Giovanni Maria Ortes, Vienna, 30 September 1769. Cited in *Dokumente*, 84–5; *Documentary Biography*, 92.

² Johann Adam Hiller, ed., *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, i (Leipzig, s.n., 1766–7), 174. Cited in *Dokumente*, 63; *Documentary Biography*, 67.

³ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, iii (Berlin, Lange, 1757), 160. Cited in *Dokumente*, 12; *Documentary Biography*, 10.

⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, i (Berlin, Birnstiel, 1759), 2. Cited in *Dokumente*, 13; *Documentary Biography*, 11.

⁵ From Charles Burney's travel notes, Bologna, 30 August 1770. Cited in *Dokumente*, 113; *Documentary Biography*, 125.

close friendship with the Mozarts, went even further and declared that he had 'never seen a man of his profession who united so much talent to so much merit'.⁶

Two diaries of Benedictine monks of the archabbey St. Peter in Salzburg demonstrate the esteem in which Leopold's intellectual capabilities were held at home. For Beda Hübner, Leopold was 'a celebrated violinist', who had 'a very learned head and possessed great knowledge, as well as a very exalted mind and energetic disposition'.⁷ When Leopold Mozart died in 1787, the abbot of St. Peter Dominikus Hagenauer wrote in his diary:

On Whit Monday the 28th, in the year 1787, early, died our Vice Kapellmeister Leopold Mozart [...]. The father who died today was a man of much wit and sagacity, who would have been capable of rendering good service to the State even apart from music.⁸

While contemporary statements remained vague when describing the intellectual interests and capabilities of Leopold, this chapter will try to piece together a clearer picture of his intellectual horizon. This undertaking is by no means a new or singular one; on the contrary, starting with the very first biographies of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart written in the early nineteenth century it was a commonplace to credit the father Leopold for his thorough erudition. One of the first publications with the explicit aim to deal with Leopold Mozart in his own right and not only as father of Wolfgang is Ludwig Wegele's volume of essays published in 1969,⁹ which contains two essays on Leopold's intellectual interests. In 'Der gelehrte Vater des genialen Sohnes' Erich Valentin locates Leopold within the narrative of a pan-European Enlightenment¹⁰ and in another essay Hans E. Valentin deals with the literary interests of Leopold Mozart.¹¹ Josef Mancal's book *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise* looks at the great European tour of the Mozart family from the perspective of Leopold Mozart and his achievements in planning and managing this journey.¹² Leopold's strategic thinking in shaping his image and the 'story' of

⁶ Cited in *Dokumente*, 55; *Documentary Biography*, 57.

⁷ Hübner *Diarium*, 29 November 1766. Cited in *Dokumente*, 64; *Documentary Biography*, 69.

⁸ Dominikus Hagenauer's diary, 28 May 1787, cited in *Dokumente*, 258; *Documentary Biography*, 293. The complete diaries of Hagenauer are published in: Hagenauer, *Abt Dominikus Hagenauer*.

⁹ Ludwig Wegele, ed., *Leopold Mozart 1719 – 1787* (Augsburg, 1969).

¹⁰ Valentin, 'Der gelehrte Vater des genialen Sohnes'. Ironically, Leopold is yet again seen as father of his ingenious son in the title of this article.

¹¹ Valentin, 'Was die Bücher anlanget'.

¹² Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*. Mancal's book also includes the most thorough documentation of Leopold's literary interests to date.

his children is the subject of another essay by Mancal.¹³ The *Violinschule* is the most frequently studied subject in relation to Leopold's intellectual horizons: Ulrich Weiß sketches parallels between Leopold's didactic concept, the organisation of the treatise and currents in contemporary philosophy,¹⁴ Vera Viehöver traces Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's influence within the *Violinschule*¹⁵ and Erich Broy examines the aesthetic outlook of the *Violinschule* and relates it to contemporary literary theory and philosophy.¹⁶

In the following, Chapter 2.1 describes the intellectual environment at university, when Leopold first came to Salzburg as student, and then Leopold's personal ties with the erudite circles established in Chapter 1.1. A brief survey of some personal friends of the family and their interests demonstrates the breadth of the intellectual engagement with modernity within the close social circle of the family. A look at the direct working environment of Leopold and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart at the court in Salzburg shows that quite a few members of the court music establishment studied at universities and harboured literary or artistic interests besides music.

In Chapter 2.2 I will provide a detailed account of Leopold's own intellectual interests and his knowledge of enlightenment thought in the broadest sense by looking at the family correspondence and other documents. Chapter 2.3 looks at the enlightened modernity within the structure and content of Leopold's *Violinschule*.

¹³ Josef Mancal, 'Einführung in die historisch-methodische Grundproblematik', *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, eds. Josef Mancal and Wolfgang Plath (Augsburg, 1997), 69–82.

¹⁴ Ulrich Weiß, 'System und Methode. Überlegungen zum philosophischen Hintergrund von Leopold Mozarts *Violinschule*', *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, 91–104.

¹⁵ Vera Viehöver, 'Gellerts Spur in Leopold Mozarts Versuch einer gründlichen *Violinschule*', *Gellert und die empfindsame Aufklärung*, eds. Sibylle Schönborg and Vera Viehöver (Berlin, 2009), 135–52.

¹⁶ Erich Broy, 'Die "gewisse gute Art" zu spielen – Überlegungen zu Ästhetik und Methodik in Leopold Mozarts *Violinschule*', *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, eds. Marianne Danckwardt and Johannes Hoyer, xiv (2006), 17–62.

2.1 Leopold Mozart and his intellectual environment in Salzburg

2.1.1 Leopold Mozart at university

The city of Salzburg was home to Leopold Mozart for nearly fifty years. The exact motivation for Leopold's move to Salzburg in 1737 remains unclear and also the question, if he planned to make the city his permanent home or just wanted to study a few years at the Benedictine university, before returning to his native Augsburg. Some surviving letters by Leopold regarding a dispute with his siblings over the inheritance of their mother's estate suggest that Leopold severed ties with his family in Augsburg quite radically.¹⁷ Leopold arrived in Salzburg together with a fellow pupil from the Jesuit school in Augsburg, Jakob Wilhelm Benedikt Friedrich von Langenmantel. They both enrolled at the Salzburg University on 7 December 1737, Langenmantel in jurisprudence and Leopold Mozart in philosophy.¹⁸ While Leopold was the son of a book binder, his travel companion stemmed from a much higher rank of Augsburg society. The Langenmantel family was an extremely wealthy Augsburg dynasty and during the eighteenth century they were the dominant clan among the catholic patricians of the town.¹⁹ Thus it is often assumed that Leopold came to Salzburg as personal adjunct of Langenmantel and that this was his way of financing his studies.²⁰

When Leopold came to Salzburg, the university was at the height of its fame and it had many prestigious professors in its ranks, who were at the helm of modern science and who were crucial in shaping the so-called Catholic Enlightenment.²¹ At the *Paridiana*, Leopold followed the lectures of Anselm Desing and Berthold Vogl, who were particularly active in instigating reforms of the old teaching system at the university.²² Desing was a respected scholar in many disciplines and Leopold attended his lectures in mathematics and history.²³ Among Desing's extensive publications were books on geography, history, jurisprudence, classical philosophy

¹⁷ See Simone Herde, 'Unbekannte Briefe und Dokumente von der Hand Leopold Mozarts aus den Jahren 1756–1767', *Mozart Studien*, xxi (2012), 11–43.

¹⁸ See Virgil Redlich, *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg 1639–1810* (Salzburg, 1933), 462. For a digital image of the relevant page of the inscription register, see <<http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/bA2moz.jpg>> [accessed on 12 February 2015].

¹⁹ See Josef Mancal, 'Leopold Mozart (1719–1787). Zum 200. Todestag eines Augsburger', *Leopold Mozart zum 200. Todestag*, ed. Wolfram Baer (Augsburg, 1987), 9.

²⁰ See e.g. Adolf Layer, 'Leopold und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts schwäbischer Bekannten- und Freundeskreis in Salzburg', *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch*, ed. Hans Friedrich Deininger (Augsburg, 1962), 297.

²¹ See Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 175–91.

²² See Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 381–4; and Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 176–7.

²³ See Mancal, 'Leopold Mozart (1719 – 1787). Zum 200. Todestag eines Augsburger', 12.

and languages in addition to religious writings.²⁴ Desing's history books did not solely deal with biblical history and antiquity, but also with the history of the modern European states and societies. Desing was particularly respected for his school books, published in German, which according to an early appraisal of Desing's merits 'made the protestant [school books] redundant in catholic schools'.²⁵ Notably, the Mozarts owned at least two of Desing's school books.²⁶ At Desing's instigation, the university started to assemble a collection of physical appliances and of natural objects, in order to illustrate the newly introduced lectures in experimental physics.²⁷

Desing's lectures in natural sciences and his progressive worldview met with strong opposition from conservative professors and clerics.²⁸ In 1743 these conservative circles managed to rally up a majority within the Benedictine confederation, which was responsible for running the university, in order to rescind Desing's teaching reforms.²⁹ Desing left the university in frustration and returned to the abbey Kremsmünster. There, he pursued his keen interest in astronomy and architecture and oversaw the building of the 'mathematical tower' at the abbey, a mixture of museum, guest house and astronomical and meteorological observatory.³⁰

Just like Desing, Berthold Vogl came to Salzburg from the abbey Kremsmünster. He lectured in philosophy, history and ethics and he was the first professor to officially introduce the rational deductive methods of scientific enquiry of the protestant philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Christian Wolff at the *Paridiana*.³¹ Vogl invited his students to engage with mathematics and experimental

²⁴ For a list of publications, see Clemens Alois Baader, *Das gelehrte Baiern oder Lexikon aller Schriftsteller welche Baiern im 18. Jahrhunderte erzeugte oder ernährte* (Nuremberg, Seidel, 1804), col.228–32.

²⁵ Baader, *Das gelehrte Baiern*, col.228.

²⁶ See Chapter 3.

²⁷ Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 177.

²⁸ See Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 382; and Baader, *Das gelehrte Baiern*, col.228–32.

²⁹ For a detailed account of this so-called '*Sykophantenstreit*' ('quarrel of the sycophants') at the Salzburg university, see Johann Laglstorfer, *Der salzburger Sykophantenstreit um 1740* (dissertation, Universität Salzburg, 1971).

³⁰ For an account of the contents of the mathematical tower in 1764, see Kraml, *Specula Cremifanensis*; for more information on the observatory, see Johann-Christian Klamt, *Sternwarte und Museum im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Mainz, 1999).

³¹ See Hammermayer, 'VI. Die Aufklärung in Salzburg', 382; and the entry 'Vogl, Berthold' in *Biographia Benedictina* (Benedictine Biography), version 30.5.2013, <http://www.benediktinerlexikon.de/wiki/Vogl,_Berthold> [accessed on 12 February 2015].

physics³² and, as rector of the university from 1744 until 1756, he managed to reintroduce some reforms, which Desing initiated.³³

If it is true that Leopold also studied jurisprudence in Salzburg as he claims in his account of the Salzburg court music in Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*,³⁴ then Leopold attended lectures of Franz Joseph von Herz in Herzfeld and of his son Franz Christoph. While we do not know much about Franz Joseph von Herz in Herzfeld's attitude towards reformatory currents at the university, his son Franz Christoph played an active role in the re-orientation of the institution towards Enlightenment thought. Born in Salzburg in 1712, he studied in his hometown and, after a short sojourn to Graz and Vienna, he became extraordinary professor at the *Paridiana* in April 1738.³⁵ The next year he succeeded his father as regular professor of canonical and civic law. In the latter subject area, Herz junior was 'not a blind follower of the Roman law, as most of his predecessors and colleagues still were',³⁶ but he tried to incorporate the North German, protestant culture of German jurisprudence into the curriculum. He was the first professor at the Salzburg university to lecture in the German language and the 'writings, which he left, testify to his detailed knowledge of German history and also to his elaborate erudition in the best and newest literature'.³⁷

It remains unclear, exactly which lectures Leopold followed at the university and on what terms he engaged with his professors, but this intellectual environment certainly encouraged Leopold's own engagement with an intellectual 'modernity' at large. As I will describe below, Leopold had wide reading interests, a keen interest in aesthetics, history and geography, and a fascination with natural physics and physical appliances. His time at the university provided him with intellectual stimulation in all these areas.

Leopold's university career officially ended in September 1739, just over a year after he received his Bachelor degree:

³² See the entry 'Vogl, Berthold' in *Biographia Benedictina* (Benedictine Biography), version 30.5.2013.

³³ Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 177.

³⁴ See Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iii, 184–5. The university inscription register lists Leopold only as a student of philosophy. See Redlich, *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg*, 462.

³⁵ The biographical information on Franz Christoph von Herz in Herzfeld is based on Layer, 'Leopold und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts schwäbischer Bekannten- und Freundeskreis', 296; Baader, *Das gelehrte Baiern*, col.496–7; and Thaddäus Zauner, *Biographische Nachrichten von den Salzburgerischen Rechtslehrern* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1789), 83–6.

³⁶ Zauner, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 84.

³⁷ Zauner, *Biographische Nachrichten*, 84–5.

[Regarding] Mr. Johann Georg Mozardt, a Swabian from Augsburg, who from the beginning of this year [...] hardly visited the lectures on physics once or twice and who for this reason showed himself not worthy of the name of a student: he was cited before the rector a couple of days before the exams, where he listened to the verdict that he was not longer to be listed in the student register; he accepted this verdict without any petitions as if it would not concern him and went off; for this reason he was not called for the exam.³⁸

The reason for Leopold's poor attendance remains open, but a decision on Leopold's side to pursue a career as a musician instead of an administrative career or the monetary necessity to earn his living seem most plausible. According to Salzburg law at the time, Leopold was required to leave the city within three days after his dismissal from university, but it is unclear whether this rule was enforced strictly.³⁹ An employment as chamber servant at the household of the canon Johann Baptist Thurn-Valsassina saved him from expulsion anyway. Leopold himself hinted at this employment being his rescue from hard times in the dedication of the set of six trio sonatas, which he published in 1740 (LMV XII:1–6). Leopold addressed the count as the one, who 'rescued him out of bitter darkness' and who appeared as a 'paternal sun' on 'the horizon of his fate'.⁴⁰

2.1.2 Leopold Mozart and the high nobility in Salzburg

Leopold was well connected with members of the Salzburg nobility throughout his life. These ties between Leopold and Salzburg noblemen often went beyond the confined contact of a court employee with his superiors and included some truly amicable friendships. Leopold's profession as a musician helped a lot, as many nobles were amateur musicians and took part in musical activities in the town. The exact terms of Leopold's personal relations with these noblemen remain speculative, particularly when it comes to the question of how far they discussed intellectual matters or questions of philosophy, art or modern sciences. The following overview

³⁸ 'D. Joan. Georg. Mozardt August. Suevus, qui ab anni [...] initio vix una vel bina vice Physicam frequentavit, et ideo se ipsum nomine studiosi indignum reddidit: fuit is paucis ante examen diebus citatus ad Magnificum, ubi sententiam percepit, se non amplius in numero studiosorum habendum esse, quam sententiam nullis interpositis precibus, acsi haec non curaret, acceptavit et discessit; qua de ratione neque ad examen amplius fuit citatus.' For a digital image and a transcription of the university record, see <<http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/mozartrele.htm>> [accessed on 29 April 2015].

³⁹ See Thomas Hochradner, "'Meistens nur um eine Uebung in der Radierkunst zu machen'" Leopold Mozarts kompositorisches Erstlingswerk: Die *Sonate Sei* (1740)', *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, 29.

⁴⁰ Leopold Mozart, *Sonate sei da chiesa e da camera, a tre, due violini e basso* (Salzburg, s.n., 1740), dedication [printed at the beginning of the *basso* part-book].

demonstrates nevertheless that Leopold was personally acquainted and often friends with those intellectual circles in town, which Riesbeck and Zinzendorf praised in their accounts of Salzburg and whose intellectual horizons I sketched out above.⁴¹ It is safe to assume that Leopold, as a person striving for a broad erudition and knowledge, was at least aware of their opinions and outlooks.

Leopold Maria Joseph Kuenburg

Close and amicable personal ties existed between the Mozart family and Leopold Maria Joseph Kuenburg. The Mozart family correspondence records plenty of instances in which greetings are sent back and forth between Kuenburg and Leopold Mozart or his children.⁴² In particular Wolfgang was close to Kuenburg's heart and Leopold apparently deemed Kuenburg to be a moral authority for his son. When Wolfgang was on his way to Paris in 1778, Kuenburg, according to Leopold, 'expressed his anxious concern over Paris, because he loves you and because he knows Paris, where one has to bring up his best efforts to avoid mischief'.⁴³ Leopold cited all this in order to underline his command that Wolfgang should behave according 'to the good principles, which he had received from his parents'.⁴⁴ The personal contact between Kuenburg and the Mozarts was not just a short-lived affair of the late 1770s and the count took a friendly interest in Nannerl's well-being after her marriage to Johann Baptist Berchtold von Sonnenburg.⁴⁵

Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee

Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee was an influential patron and admirer of the Mozarts. He was an ardent music lover and played the cello and double bass.⁴⁶ The family correspondence of the Mozarts documents Wolfegg's active support and his high opinion of Leopold and Wolfgang on several occasions. For their grand European tour Wolfegg furnished them with letters of recommendation for the court in Ludwigsburg.⁴⁷ When Wolfgang and his mother stayed in Augsburg in 1777, Wolfegg called at their lodgings, as soon as he heard

⁴¹ See Chapter 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

⁴² See e.g. *Briefe*, ii, 27; *Briefe*, ii, 50; or *Briefe*, ii, 366. None of these greetings are included in *Letters*.

⁴³ *Briefe*, ii, 244; *Letters*, 455.

⁴⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 244; *Letters*, 455.

⁴⁵ See *Briefe*, iii, 521; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁶ See for example a report of an amateur concert by Leopold Mozart, in which Wolfegg played double bass: *Briefe*, ii, 338; *Letters*, 526.

⁴⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 75; *Letters*, 23.

that Wolfgang was in town, which in a strictly hierarchical society was a remarkable gesture of respect.⁴⁸ When Wolfgang and his mother decided to continue their journey to Paris in 1778, Leopold enlisted Wolfegg's help to find an affordable room in Paris and the count readily provided two letters of recommendation to German merchants in the city.⁴⁹ According to Leopold, who saw the letters, Wolfegg wrote 'that he would vouch for everything, as the father was *Kapellmeister* in Salzburg, a reputable man and his good friend'.⁵⁰ Eventually, Maria Anna's and Wolfgang's first lodging in Paris was indeed at the place that Wolfegg recommended.⁵¹

The Wolfegg family also acquired some instrumental music from Leopold Mozart in the 1760s. Today, the music collection at Wolfegg Castle in South Germany, which belonged to close relatives of Count Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee, holds a number of instrumental works by Leopold in manuscripts of Salzburg provenance.⁵² It is possible that Anton Willibald von Wolfegg initiated the acquisition of Salzburg music, but the exact transmission of these manuscripts remains speculative.

The Firmian family

According to Leopold's own testimony to his landlord Hagenauer, Firmian 'was entirely well-disposed' towards him and his family.⁵³ The Mozarts' letters relate a strong proof of this amicable disposition: in August 1777 Wolfgang was discharged from the service at the Salzburg court by archbishop Colloredo, while Firmian was out of town. According to Leopold Firmian's 'displeasure was beyond words', when he heard of this incident.⁵⁴ Apparently, the count told the archbishop right away that

Your Highness have lost a great virtuoso. [...] He is the greatest performer on the Clavier, whom I've heard in my life. He rendered a good service to Your Highness on the violin, and he was a sound and good composer.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 81; *Letters*, 337.

⁴⁹ See *Briefe*, ii, 311; *Letters*, 484 [excerpt only].

⁵⁰ *Briefe*, ii, 311; not in *Letters*.

⁵¹ *Briefe*, ii, 328; *Letters*, 518.

⁵² See Christian Broy, 'Newly discovered Leopold Mozart Sources at Wolfegg Castle', *Eighteenth Century Music*, v (2008), 107–14.

⁵³ *Briefe*, i, 59; *Letters*, 11.

⁵⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 34; *Letters*, 295.

⁵⁵ 'Euer Hochf: Gden: haben einen grossen Virtuosen verloren. [...] Er ist der größte Clavierspieler, den ich in meinem Leben gehört, bey der Violin hat er Euer Hochf: Gden: gute Dienste gethann und war ein recht guter Componist.' *Briefe*, ii, 34–5; *Letters*, 295.

The same letter also indicates how far beyond the purely musical admiration Firmian's affection for Wolfgang went:

He [Firmian] loves you from the heart and before he heard this story, he had bought four horses, and he looked forward to your pleasure, which you would have had, when seeing him arrive with four riding horses.⁵⁶

Further proof of the personal friendship between the Mozart family and Firmian is found in Nannerl's diary: on Easter Sunday 1779, Nannerl (and possibly Wolfgang and Leopold, too) first visited Maximiliane Firmian, Franz Lactanz's wife, and later that day Firmian himself would come round to the Mozarts' home and join them playing cards 'until 6 o'clock'.⁵⁷ In summer 1783, during Wolfgang's and his wife Constanze's only visit to his native town, 'the whole family [was] at the *Obersthofmeister*' and later the same day Firmian visited the Mozarts at their place.⁵⁸ On the next day Nannerl does not expressly mention, whether the family's visit to Schloss Leopoldskron, where they 'had seen everything' (possibly including the gardens and the picture gallery of the count), happened in company of the landlord Franz Lactanz Firmian, but it might well have been the case.⁵⁹

The Mozarts' contact with the other Firmian brother living in Salzburg, Vigilius Maria Augustin Firmian seems not to be that close, as he is rarely mentioned in the family letters or in Nannerl's diary. Leopold's high regard for the oldest brother of the family, Leopold Ernst Mauritius Joseph Firmian, is documented in his enthusiastic comment on Firmian's appointment as bishop of Passau in 1763: 'that [Leopold Ernst Firmian] became bishop in Passau, makes me endlessly happy, the people of Passau were lucky to get an edifying bishop again'.⁶⁰

Karl Joseph Firmian was the youngest of the four brothers and he, too, was famed for his erudition and his support of the arts. Born in 1716, he was schooled at the Benedictine monastery in Ettal and went to Innsbruck, Salzburg and Leiden for his further studies.⁶¹ He travelled Europe widely and spent some time in Paris, before he became envoy of the Austrian court in Naples and from 1759 onwards in Milan. He was friends with many of Europe's most famous artists and scholars and

⁵⁶ 'Er liebt dich von Herzen, und ehe er die Historie erfahren, hatte er 4 Pferde gekauft, und sich auf dein Vergnügen gefreuet, welches du haben wirst, wenn er mit 4 Reitpferd kommt.' *Briefe*, ii, 34; *Letters*, 295.

⁵⁷ *NannerlDiary*, 34.

⁵⁸ *NannerlDiary*, 148.

⁵⁹ *NannerlDiary*, 148.

⁶⁰ *Briefe*, i, 95; not in *Letters*.

⁶¹ The biographical information on Karl Joseph Firmian is based on: Heinrich Benedikt, 'Firmian, Carl Joseph Gotthard', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, v (Berlin, 1961), 169; and Ammerer and Angermüller, ed., *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, 125.

he managed to re-establish the university of Padua as an important centre of scientific research and education by luring famous professors to North Italy. His library consisted of more than 40,000 books and some important manuscripts, earning him a reputation as 'one of the most enlightened and commendable ministers of his time'.⁶² Leopold and Wolfgang met Karl Joseph Firmian in Milan in 1770 and immediately were taken under his influential protection. Firmian facilitated the Mozarts' network among Italian artists and patrons⁶³ and the Mozarts returned to stay at Firmian's home on their trips to Italy during the following years.

Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil

Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil, whose extensive library was described above,⁶⁴ was a great supporter and close friend of the Mozarts in Salzburg, too. When count Zeil died in 1786, Leopold Mozart shared his commiseration in a letter to his daughter: 'The Leopoldl is well, however the Poor Bishop of Chiemsee is in eternity'.⁶⁵ Immediately after the customary opening sentence of his letters to his daughter from that time, which informed Nannerl about the health of her oldest son Leopoldl, Leopold lamented the passing of Zeil. Thus Leopold demonstrated his close friendship with the count as well as his own worries about his impending death, as the count 'was [only] 7 or 8 months older than me'.⁶⁶ As bishop of Chiemsee and as envoy of the Salzburg court, Zeil had very good contacts to the Bavarian court in Munich and in 1775 he helped to get Wolfgang's opera *La finta giardinera* (K196) produced there. A couple of years later, Zeil interceded for Wolfgang at the Munich court, when Wolfgang hoped to acquire a position there in 1777.⁶⁷

⁶² Hirsching, *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch*, ii, 224–5.

⁶³ Two letters of recommendation by Karl Joseph Firmian survive, see *Dokumente*, 100–1; *Documentary Biography*, 110–1.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 1.1.2.

⁶⁵ *Briefe*, iii, 527; not in *Letters*.

⁶⁶ *Briefe*, iii, 528; not in *Letters*.

⁶⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 12–3; *Letters*, 276.

2.1.3 The Mozarts and Benedictine friars at the Erzabtei St. Peter

The ties between the Mozart family and the archabbey St. Peter in Salzburg were examined in detail on multiple occasions.⁶⁸ Therefore I will restrict myself to a brief description of the personal links between the Mozarts and three friars, whose biographies and intellectual interests were outlined above, Placidus Scharl, Florian Reichssiegel and Dominikus Hagenauer.

According to his memoirs, Placidus Scharl 'quite often had the opportunity to admire the musical talent of the young Herr Mozart'.⁶⁹ Scharl's diaries written during his time in Salzburg indeed show that he took a lively interest in the fortune of the Mozart family on their travels, and in particular in Wolfgang as a child. Scharl noted in his diary the anecdote of Wolfgang rushing up to the Empress Maria Theresia in Vienna and embracing her in January 1763, which he heard from Anton Cajetan Adlgasser.⁷⁰ A year later, Scharl met the Mozarts' landlord Hagenauer 'who told me various things about Herr Mozart and sent me two of his letters [from the grand European tour]'.⁷¹ Even though we cannot know if and to what extent Leopold Mozart and Scharl discussed matters of aesthetics, natural sciences or travel experiences, all these areas provided points of mutual interest.

Florian Reichssiegel's theatrical works, ten of which were performed on the university stage between 1762 and 1772,⁷² were certainly known to the Mozarts. How far the personal interaction went between the family and Reichssiegel, remains unclear. In the Mozarts' correspondence Reichssiegel is only mentioned once: in November 1777 Wolfgang jokingly sent greetings to all Salzburg friends and acquaintances including Reichssiegel.⁷³

As mentioned above, Kajetan Rupert Hagenauer was the fourth son of Johann Lorenz and Maria Theresia Hagenauer, the landlords of the Mozart family in the Getreidegasse. Born in 1746, he was a close friend of Wolfgang and Nannerl since childhood days. In 1763, the seven-year old Wolfgang supposedly shed tears on the family's European tour, because 'he was sorry that he could not see H: Hagenauer' and other good friends.⁷⁴ The Mozart family followed Kajetan Rupert's path with

⁶⁸ See e.g. Schmid, *Mozart in Salzburg*, 156–61; and Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen, ed., *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts* (Salzburg, 1991).

⁶⁹ From the Memoirs of Placidus Scharl, Andechs 1808. Cited after *Dokumente*, 441; *Documentary Biography*, 512.

⁷⁰ See *Dokumente*, 21; *Documentary Biography*, 19.

⁷¹ *Dokumente*, 29; *Documentary Biography*, 28.

⁷² See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 329.

⁷³ See *Briefe*, ii, 147; *Letters*, 392.

⁷⁴ *Briefe*, i, 90; *Letters*, 28.

interest and sympathy: in 1764 Leopold congratulated the family to Kajetan's entry into the monastery St. Peter,⁷⁵ in 1769 Wolfgang composed his 'Dominicus-mass' (K66) for the newly ordained Pater Dominikus and in 1786 Leopold was wholeheartedly enthused by Dominikus's election as Abbot of St. Peter.⁷⁶

2.1.4 Intellectual and artistic interests among the friends of the Mozart family

The interests within the immediate circle of friends of the Mozart family were obviously highly diverse and varied, but they show a general awareness of modern trends and a fascination with modern sciences. Joachim Ferdinand Schidenhofen, whose extensive interests and library are described above,⁷⁷ was one of the closest friends of the Mozarts.⁷⁸ Likewise, the Mozarts had close and lively links with the Mölk family. Albert Andreas Eligius Mölk, the second son of the Mölk family, for example, was a lifelong friend of the Mozarts. Wolfgang and Leopold met him in Rome on their first Italian journey in 1770, while Mölk was studying at the *Collegium Germanicum*. On 2 May 1770 Wolfgang performed at the *Collegium Germanicum* and possibly this concert was arranged by Mölk.⁷⁹ After he returned to Salzburg, Mölk continued to be in frequent contact with the Mozart family during the 1770s and early 80s and Nannerl's diary includes several notices of him visiting their home.⁸⁰ The only daughter of the Mölk family, Maria Barbara Anna Mölk, was a particularly close friend of Nannerl and Wolfgang. Nannerl's diary abounds with references to visits of the 'Mölkwaberl', as she was affectionately called, at their home or the Mozarts visiting her.

Among the less well-known friends of the Mozart family are the brothers von Helmreichen zu Brunfeld. The Mozarts had personal contact with at least two of them: Johann Chrysostomus Wenzel von Helmreichen zu Brunfeld was adjudicator in Lofer near Salzburg,⁸¹ which was the first overnight stop on Leopold's and Wolfgang's journey to Italy in December 1769. Brunfeld treated them to a meal, a

⁷⁵ See *Briefe*, i, 175; *Letters*, 52.

⁷⁶ See *Briefe*, iii, 497–8; not in *Letters*. Possibly, Leopold was involved in plotting Hagenauer's election. See Adolf Hahn, 'Die gesprengte Mine, oder: Hat Leopold Mozart den Abt von St. Peter gemacht?', *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts*, 160–72.

⁷⁷ See Chapter 1.1.5.

⁷⁸ For a summary of their friendship, see *Schidenhofen Diary*, XII–XVIII.

⁷⁹ See *Dokumente*, 109; *Documentary Biography*, 121. Giovanni Biringucci, a minister at the *Collegium Germanicum*, mentions in his diary that Mozart 'appeared gratis, thanks to his fellow countryman Sig. Mölck, to whose family he professed obligations'. See Cliff Eisen, ed., *New Mozart Documents* (London, 1991), 19.

⁸⁰ See e.g. *Nannerl Diary*, 54, 74 & 172.

⁸¹ For biographical information see Franz Martin, *Hundert Salzburger Familien* (Salzburg, 1946), 69.

‘fine room and a good bed’ and they were ‘gossiping until 10 o’clock’.⁸² The second brother cannot be identified unequivocally: he is mentioned in a letter by Leopold Mozart in connection with Johann Georg Keyssler’s travelogue, which Maria Anna Mozart could go and borrow from ‘Herr von Helmreich’.⁸³ In all likelihood, Leopold referred to one of the brothers Karl Joseph or Ernst Anton von Helmreichen zu Brunfeld. They were both councillors at the Salzburg court and doctors and they each owned a sizeable library: Karl Joseph left a library of ‘around 200 books’⁸⁴ and Ernst Anton bequeathed his library, which at his death in 1795 was valued at 1000 florins, to Karl Ehrenbert von Moll.⁸⁵ Ernst Anton was widely travelled and studied medicine in Göttingen, where he enrolled at the *Georg August Universität* on 15 October 1753.⁸⁶

Other well-educated friends of the Mozarts include Franz Joseph Bullinger and Mathias Joseph Ranftl. Bullinger is well-known as the ‘very best friend’ of Wolfgang during the late 1770s, who had to prepare Leopold and Nannerl in Salzburg for the news of Maria Anna’s death in Paris in 1778. Bullinger was educated in Dillingen and Ingolstadt, where he studied philosophy, mathematics and theology, and he entered the Jesuit order in 1761. After the dissolution of the order, he came to Salzburg and worked as educator and tutor in the household of the Arco family and during this time he became friends with the Mozarts.

The merchant Mathias Joseph Ranftl and his family were neighbours of the Mozarts in the Getreidegasse and the parents as well as the children stood in frequent contact with the Mozart family throughout their life. Mathias Joseph, who was a highly erudite person, arranged the botanical garden at *Schloss Leopoldskron* for count Firmian. His oldest son, Franz Anton Mathias inherited the business of his father and also his interest in botany. He printed a detailed catalogue of the plants and herbage in his gardens in 1783 and added two supplements in 1786 and 1788.⁸⁷ One member of the Ranftl family played the cello, as Leopold reports in a letter from 1778.⁸⁸

⁸² *Briefe*, i, 292; *Letters*, 99.

⁸³ See *Briefe*, i, 303-4; *Letters*, 106.

⁸⁴ According to the records in the *Landesarchiv Salzburg* [A-Sla, HR Text. H 62].

⁸⁵ According to the records in the *Landesarchiv Salzburg* [A-Sla, HR Text. H 73]. Karl Ehrenbert von Moll owned an exceptional collection of books and prints. The British Museum bought 20,000 out of a total of 80,000 volumes from Moll’s library towards the end of his life. See Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, xix, 4.

⁸⁶ See Selle, *Die Matrikel der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen*, 101.

⁸⁷ Franz Anton Ranftl, *Catalogus horti botanici in universitate Salisburgensi*, 3 vols. (Salzburg, s.n., 1783-8) [A-Su, 2483 I Rarum].

⁸⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 338; *Letters*, 526.

2.1.5 Johann Andreas Schachtner

The court trumpeter and poet Johann Andreas Schachtner is nowadays primarily remembered as one of the main sources of biographical information on the early childhood of Wolfgang. According to Leopold Mozart Schachtner 'blows the trumpet very well and with good taste'⁸⁹ and he also played the violin and the cello. Schachtner was a frequent visitor to the Mozarts' household, witnessing young Wolfgang's astonishing musical development, and in the 1770s Nannerl's diary lists many instances of him coming round to play chamber music,⁹⁰ to play card games,⁹¹ or both in one afternoon.⁹²

Schachtner was born in 1731 in Dingolfing in Bavaria.⁹³ He went to a Jesuit school in Ingolstadt, just like Leopold Mozart in Augsburg, and then he studied philosophy at the university in Ingolstadt, also a Jesuit institution. He came to Salzburg around 1751, where he studied the trumpet with the court trumpeter Kaspar Köstler, and in 1754 Schachtner entered the rank of a court trumpeter.⁹⁴ Besides his musical duties, Schachtner was active as poet and actor. He authored and adapted several librettos for theatre plays and *Singspiele* in Salzburg, including Wolfgang Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* (K50), Wolfgang's unfinished opera *Zaide* (K344) or the passion oratorio for lent 1771 *Die Menschliche Wanderschaft*, the three parts of which were set to music by Adlgasser, Michael Haydn and Joseph Griner.

Schachtner also worked as translator of Latin and Italian plays: the Mozarts turned to him, when a German translation of *Idomeneo* (K366) was needed for the premiere of Wolfgang's opera in 1781. Schachtner published a translation of Anton Claus's tragedy *Stiliko* in 1759⁹⁵ and he translated Metastasio's *Il Demetrio* the following year, presumably for a performance of the work at the Salzburg court in 1760: Schachtner's German version was published by Mayr under the title

⁸⁹ See Leopold Mozart's account of the court music in Salzburg in Marpur, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iii, 196.

⁹⁰ For example on 6 June 1779, see *NannerlDiary*, 58.

⁹¹ For example on 24 Mai 1780 or on 23 June 1780, see *NannerlDiary*, 70 & 78.

⁹² For example on 30 August 1780, see *NannerlDiary*, 90.

⁹³ The biographical information on Johann Andreas Schachtner is based on: Heinz Schuler, 'Der "hochfürstlich salzburgische Hof- und Feldtrompeter" Johann Andreas Schachtner – Ein Beitrag zu seiner Familiengeschichte', *Acta Mozartiana*, xxiv/1 (1977), 10–3.

⁹⁴ Though he probably was an unpaid member 'in waiting' (*Akzessist*) before. See Schuler, 'Der "hochfürstlich salzburgische Hof- und Feldtrompeter" Johann Andreas Schachtner', 11.

⁹⁵ See Anton Claus, *Stiliko, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen – Aus dem Lateinischen [...] in deutsche Worte übersetzt von Johann Andreas Schachtner* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1759) [A-Su, 5575 I].

*Demetrius, ein Schauspiel von drey Abtheilungen*⁹⁶ and an Italian edition of Metastasio's libretto which was printed in Salzburg in the same year survives, too.⁹⁷

Schachtner's most ambitious work as a translator was the collection of 'religious contemplations' in form of several *Singspiel*-librettos, which he published as *Geistliche Schaubühne, oder Der Heilige Augustin in seiner Bekehrung*. Originally written in Latin by the Augsburg Jesuit priest Franz Neumayr, Schachtner cited in his preface to the book Gottsched's rules for poetry as his guiding spirit for the translation.⁹⁸ Schachtner's verses met with Gottsched's approval, as a review in Gottsched's literary periodical *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* shows: Gottsched lauds the 'clarity and regularity' of the language and the poetry and acknowledges Schachtner to be 'a good poet'.⁹⁹

Schachtner's second major publication was a collection of poems in German, *Poetischer Versuch in zerschiedenen Arten von Gedichten*, which appeared in Augsburg in 1765.¹⁰⁰ This time, the book was officially dedicated to Gottsched and the luminary himself provided a preface to the work. In the dedication Schachtner affirms his reverence for the elder poet, whose 'ever-lasting glory shall be the aim of my writings'.¹⁰¹ Gottsched in turn congratulates the archbishopric Salzburg 'that it owns such a faultless poet, who can compose religious and secular poetry with such spirit and such beautiful clarity'.¹⁰²

Leopold Mozart and Schachtner were both great admirers of Gottsched and both took a deep interest in current literary trends. So presumably, Schachtner's frequent visits to the Mozarts' household also caused literary discussions and an exchange of ideas between the two friends beyond the social pleasures of playing cards, making music or taking a stroll.

⁹⁶ Pietro Metastasio, *Demetrius, Ein Schauspiel von 3 Abth[eilungen]* - *Aus dem Ital[ienischen] übers[etzt] von J. A. Schachtner* (Salzburg, Mayr, c1760) [D-Mbs, P.o.it. 656 f].

⁹⁷ Pietro Metastasio, *Il Demetrio, opera in musica da rappresentarsi in corte* (Salzburg, Stamperia di Corte, 1760) [D-AM, 999/L. ext. 75 (1,1/3)].

⁹⁸ Franz Neumayr, *Geistliche Schaubühne, oder: Der Heilige Augustin in seiner Bekehrung*, trans. Johann Andreas Schachtner (Augsburg, Wolff, 1758), preface [unpaginated].

⁹⁹ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Das Neueste aus der Anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, x (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1761), 60–71.

¹⁰⁰ Johann Andreas Schachtner, *Poetischer Versuch in zerschiedenen Arten von Gedichten* (Augsburg, Wolff, 1765).

¹⁰¹ Schachtner, *Poetischer Versuch*, dedication [unpaginated].

¹⁰² Gottsched's preface to Schachtner, *Poetischer Versuch*, preface [unpaginated].

2.1.6 The musician colleagues at court

Schachtner's record of literary publications was certainly exceptional among the court musicians in Salzburg, but other colleagues of Leopold and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart had a broad educational background, too. The biography of the *Kapellmeister* Johann Ernst Eberlin displays a striking similarity to Leopold Mozart's own career: born in 1702 in Jettingen in Bavaria, Eberlin was schooled at St. Salvator in Augsburg, the same school as Leopold Mozart went to a couple of decades later.¹⁰³ He appeared as an actor in the school plays in 1713 and 1715 and finished all classes of the *Gymnasium*, the lower school, 'as one of the best [pupils] with great acclaim, quick understanding and excellent progress'.¹⁰⁴ At the higher school, the *Lyzeum*, Eberlin took classes in philosophy and physics and was 'among the first' pupils in philosophy and among the 'better ones' in physics at graduation.¹⁰⁵ In 1721 Eberlin moved to Salzburg and studied law at the university. He did not finish his university studies, but entered the Salzburg court music establishment in 1726 as fourth organist. He moved up in the ranks to the first and only organist by 1742, before being promoted to the head of the court music in 1749.

Not much is known about the oboist and flautist Christoph Burg apart from the bare facts that he was born in Mannheim around 1708 and that he came to Salzburg in 1747.¹⁰⁶ Burg is mentioned once in the Mozart family correspondence in 1768: apparently, Burg borrowed Friedrich Melchior von Grimm's polemical essay on opera *Le Petit Prophète de Boehmischbrod*.¹⁰⁷ While this does in no way prove a deeper theoretical interest in aesthetics by Burg, it does show that books were circulated among the court musicians.¹⁰⁸

Melchior Sandmayr was another oboist and bassoon player at the Salzburg court from 1768 until 1804.¹⁰⁹ He was also born near Augsburg and probably stemmed from or married into a wealthy family, as he owned the premises of at least three shops in Salzburg and in addition the first floor of the house in the Getreidegasse

¹⁰³ The biographical information on Johann Ernst Eberlin is based on: Ernst Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806. Organisation und Personal* (dissertation, Universität Salzburg, 1972), 75–80.

¹⁰⁴ See Adolf Layer, *Johann Ernst Eberlin* (Munich, 1958), 391–2.

¹⁰⁵ Layer, *Johann Ernst Eberlin*, 392.

¹⁰⁶ See Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofkapelle*, 55–6.

¹⁰⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 261; not in *Letters*.

¹⁰⁸ No books are listed in Christoph Burg's *Verlassenschaftsakte* at the *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, HR Test. B17].

¹⁰⁹ See Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofkapelle*, 369–71.

number 8.¹¹⁰ It is unclear, when Sandmayr moved into the Getreidegasse and if he actually lived opposite the Mozart family, before they relocated to their larger lodgings on the other side of the river. Yet, they certainly knew each other from the court and also stood in private contact: Nannerl noted in her diary that Sandmayr came round for some leisurely music making on 29 July 1783, while Wolfgang and Constanze visited Salzburg.¹¹¹ No details about Sandmayr's education are known, but Sandmayr clearly was interested in modern literature and current newspapers. In 1784 he was a member of the newly formed *Lesegesellschaft* in Salzburg. According to a notice in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*, Sandmayr hosted the closet, where the books could be taken out from and returned to, at his home in the Getreidegasse.¹¹²

When Johann Michael Haydn died in 1806, Dominikus Hagenauer entered an obituary in his diary: after an appraisal of Haydn's musical merits and achievements as composer, whose works were sent as far afield as 'Spain and Sweden', Hagenauer described the 'touching' funeral in some detail and expressly added that 'Haydn also was an erudite, pleasant and quiet person beyond his musical gifts'.¹¹³ Werigand Rettensteiner, a Benedictine monk from Michaelbeuren and a close friend of Haydn, published a 'biographical sketch' of Haydn in 1808 and he also emphasised Haydn's thorough erudition, which reached far beyond the musical realm:

With regard to his scientific education one has to acknowledge that he excelled also in this respect through his talent, his industriousness and his lively interest. [...] Regarding the literature from his fatherland [...] Wieland seems to have had the greatest significance in his education.¹¹⁴

According to Rettensteiner, Haydn harboured a particular interest in history books and travelogues and he read '[Edward] Gibbon's and [William] Robertson's historical works with ravenous appetite'.¹¹⁵ By the time of Haydn's death, his library

¹¹⁰ See archival records about the sale of one of the salesrooms to the clockmaker Joseph Niggel around 1774 at the *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, Landschaft VII.23].

¹¹¹ See *NannerlDiary*, 144.

¹¹² See *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt* 1784, 55 (4 April 1784).

¹¹³ Hagenauer, *Abt Dominikus Hagenauer*, 1132-3.

¹¹⁴ 'In Bezug auf seine wissenschaftliche Bildung muß bemerkt werden, daß ihn auch hierin Talent, Fleiß und lebendige Neigung ausgezeichnet haben. [...] In Hinsicht auf vaterländische Literatur [...] [scheint] Wieland vorzüglich am tiefsten in diese Bildung eingegriffen zu haben.' Werigand Rettensteiner, *Biographische Skizze von Michael Haydn* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1808), 9-10.

¹¹⁵ Rettensteiner, *Biographische Skizze*, 10.

had grown into a 'considerable private library'.¹¹⁶ Yet, the estate document drawn up after Haydn's death does not include any detailed information about this library.¹¹⁷ A couple of actual books from Haydn's estate can be traced in Salzburg libraries: in 1991, Jakobus Trattner identified two titles consisting of twelve volumes in the library of the abbey St. Peter as formerly belonging to Haydn.¹¹⁸ These are a translation of Jonathan Swift's satirical and serious writings in eight volumes¹¹⁹ and Rabener's *Satiren* in four volumes.¹²⁰ The account books of the abbey document the acquisition of these volumes in 1828 and they specify that these volumes belonged to Haydn's library. In addition, they list 22 volumes of Michael Ignaz Schmidt's *Geschichte der Deutschen*¹²¹ from Haydn's library, which could not be found in the library of the abbey any more.¹²²

A copy of Wieland's literary periodical *Der Teutsche Merkur*, which is extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*, now confirms Haydn's purported admiration of Wieland's writings and his interest in contemporary literature.¹²³ The first volume of the periodical contains Haydn's book plate pasted on the inside of the front cover. Another ten volumes, up to the issue of 1784, are bound in exactly the same leather cover as the first and therefore it is safe to assume that all of these books were once part of Haydn's library.¹²⁴ The *Teutsche Merkur* mainly contained reports from the German theatre scene, reviews of plays and of books, but Wieland and other German authors also published essays, novels and other stories within this journal. Unnoticed until now, Haydn appears on the subscribers list for Friedrich Nicolai's *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781*, confirming his interest in travelogues.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ Rettensteiner, *Biographische Skizze*, 52.

¹¹⁷ See *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, Stadtsyndikat Verlassenschaften 430]. A facsimile of two pages of this document is published in Gerhard Croll and Kurt Vössing, eds., *Johann Michael Haydn* (Gütersloh, 1987), 158–9.

¹¹⁸ Jakobus Trattner, 'Bücher aus dem Besitz Johann Michael Haydns in der Bibliothek von St. Peter', *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts* (Salzburg, 1991), 187–93.

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Swift, *Satyrische und ernsthafte Schriften*, 8 vols. (Hamburg and Leipzig, s.n., 1760–6) [A-Ssp, 12.536 I].

¹²⁰ Gottfried Wilhelm Rabener, *Satiren* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, s.n., 1764) [A-Ssp, 12.997 I].

¹²¹ Michael Ignaz Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, 27 vols. (Ulm, Stettin, 1778–1830). Not all of the 22 volumes can have been part of Haydn's library during his lifetime, as volumes 21 and 22 were published after his death.

¹²² See Trattner, 'Bücher aus dem Besitz Johann Michael Haydns', 190.

¹²³ Christoph Martin Wieland, ed., *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Weimar, Verlag der Gesellschaft, 1773–89) [A-Su, 163721 I].

¹²⁴ As the book plate is pasted inside the front cover, the volumes were bound by the time Haydn affixed his book plate.

¹²⁵ See Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz*, i, [subscribers' list added between the table of contents and the start of volume 1].

2.2 Leopold Mozart's interests

Johann Georg Leopold Mozart was born in Augsburg in 1719 into a family of craftsmen. His father was the bookbinder Johann Georg Mozart and other members of the family were church builders and sculptors. At the age of four, Leopold was sent to the Jesuit school of St. Salvator in Augsburg. Leopold received a comprehensive humanistic education, first at the preparatory class for the *Gymnasium*, then at the *Gymnasium* itself and, finally, he also attended the *Lyceum* for a year, but he left school in 1736 before attaining his final degree.¹²⁶

Leopold's artistic capabilities were also stimulated at the Jesuit school. At the age of four he appeared on the school stage as a dancer, taking part in school plays regularly thereafter. Leopold learnt to play the organ and the violin and he was a choirboy at the Benedictine church of *St. Ulrich und St. Afra* and at the monastery *Heilig Kreuz* in Augsburg.

When Leopold left school in 1736, shortly after his father's death, he received a leaving certificate, which also acted as a letter of recommendation. This certificate praised emphatically Leopold's intellectual prowess and his wide interests. The 'esteemed and erudite Herr Johann Georg Leopold Mozart' earned himself 'great praise and success' at the *Gymnasium* and he successfully completed the first year of the *Lyceum* with 'exceedingly praiseworthy success'.¹²⁷ The leaving certificate provides some insight into the subjects that Leopold studied at the *Lyceum*: beyond the classical languages and philosophy, he also attended classes in 'general physics'. According to Ernst Fritz Schmid, the curriculum included experimental physics, mathematics, astronomy, geometry, mineralogy, chemistry and biology.¹²⁸

Leopold's comprehensive school education provided a foundation for his remarkably broad interests that accompanied him during his later life. They are amply documented in the letters and can also be seen in some of his publications. While it is impossible to give an exhaustive account of all of his interests beyond music, this chapter aims to give an idea of their breadth and the sincerity with which Leopold cared for them.

¹²⁶ For a detailed account of Leopold's school education and its influence on his life and career, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Ein schwäbisches Mozart-Buch* (Augsburg, 1998), 53–101.

¹²⁷ A facsimile reprint, a transcript in Latin and a German translation of Leopold's leaving certificate are published in Ernst Fritz Schmid, 'Miscellen zur Augsburger Mozartforschung', *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch*, 200–4. While such leaving certificates were based on pre-printed forms, all quoted passages are hand-written insertions.

¹²⁸ See Schmid, 'Miscellen zur Augsburger Mozartforschung', 203–4.

2.2.1 History and historical knowledge

For Leopold history was an integral part of erudition and it was a meaningful point of departure for any intellectual enquiry. For this reason Leopold prefaced the *Violinschule* as well as the collection of keyboard pieces *Der Morgen und der Abend* with a historical account of the matter in question. The historical opening to the *Violinschule* sparked some critical or even spiteful response upon publication. In 1763 an overall very favourable review of Leopold's treatise appeared in volume 10 of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, edited by Christian Felix Weiße.¹²⁹ The anonymous reviewer praised Leopold's book as 'the most thorough and best treatise for the violin' and recommended it 'to all experts and amateurs of bowed instruments'.¹³⁰ Yet, he explained that 'Herr Mozart, in his choice erudition in old and new authors,' should have written his historical introduction 'with more diligence and better insight'.¹³¹ In the words of the reviewer, 'our times are too enlightened as to believe in an Adam, who wants to imitate the wind, the birds and the angels in his singing [...]'.¹³²

This review is the only critical reaction to Leopold's historical abstract known to me, though there were definitively other public reactions in a similar vein published between 1756 and 1759. This is evident from Leopold's preface to *Der Morgen und der Abend*, the piano transcriptions of the pieces for the mechanical organ on the Salzburg fortress, which appeared in print in 1759. Leopold opened this publication with an essay on the history of the town Salzburg, the fortress and its mechanical organ and added a vindication of this approach:

I decided to give [these musical pieces] to the printer and to include the present attempt at a short history in lieu of a preface. I do not want to pretend to be a historian for this: but if carping, envious and agitated minds cannot conceal their mean-spirited and quite short-witted thinking on this little occasion, just as it has happened at the publication of my violin school, I will laugh at this.¹³³

¹²⁹ Christian Felix Weiße, ed., *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, x (Leipzig, Dyck, 1764), 53–4.

¹³⁰ Weiße, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, x, 53.

¹³¹ Weiße, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, x, 54.

¹³² Weiße, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, x, 54.

¹³³ 'So habe ich mich entschlossen selbe [musikalischen Stücke] dem Druck zu übergeben und anstatt einer Vorrede gegenwärtigen Versuch einer kleinen Geschichte einzurücken. Ich will aber deswegen keinen Geschichtschreiber vorstellen: und wenn tadelstüchtige, neidische und unruhige Gemüther auch bey dieser Kleinigkeit, gleichwie es bey der Herausgabe meiner Violinschule geschehen ist, ihre niederträchtige und recht einfältige Denckungsart nicht verbergen können, so lache ich dazu!' Leopold Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1759), preface unpaginated [page 3 on my count].

The vehemence of Leopold's reply to such accusations shows how hard these charges hit him, and this is no wonder, as it was exactly this historical abstract that qualified his treatise as a 'gründliche', a 'thorough', violin school. According to Johann Christoph Adelung's German dictionary the word 'gründlich' meant that something stood 'in relation to the fundamentals or the elementary components of a thing, be it subjective or objective'.¹³⁴ Therefore, the word 'gründlich' in the title signified Leopold's ambition to elucidate the principles of violin playing starting from the very fundamentals. Johann Heinrich Zedler's comprehensive German encyclopaedia *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* confirms this link between history and thorough understanding: its article on 'history' states that any true insight in any matter, any 'gründliche Einsicht', can only be attained with its history in mind.¹³⁵

The preface of the *Violinschule* discloses how much Leopold aimed at belonging to the enlightened circles of his times and how he aspired to meet their intellectual expectations. Leopold writes about his hesitation to come forward with his ideas for a violin treatise 'in such enlightened times', until he read the preface to Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*,¹³⁶ where Marpurg lamented the lack of a violin treatise.¹³⁷

This discrepancy between Leopold's aspirations and the unfavourable reception, which the historical introduction received from some critics, illustrates the more general difference between the protestant enlightenment in Northern Germany and the catholic enlightenment in the South. In the eyes of the anonymous reviewer in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* the references made to biblical history and to classical mythology constitute a provocation of his 'enlightened times'. On the other hand, this reconciliation between modern scientific thought and biblical and mythological traditions was at the heart of the catholic enlightenment. Leopold's own intellectual horizon, which united a staunch catholic faith with modern, enlightened interests in history and natural sciences, proves him to be a typical enlightened Catholic.

Leopold's interest in musical history might be taken as granted for a musician, composer and musical writer, and, as shown above, the inclusion of a short history

¹³⁴ Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, ii (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1796), col.697.

¹³⁵ Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, xiii (Leipzig, Zedler, 1739), col.282.

¹³⁶ *Violinschule*, preface [page 2 on my count].

¹³⁷ See Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, i, page V.

of music and of violin instruments did conform to eighteenth-century expectations regarding a comprehensive, thorough violin treatise.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Leopold's decision to open a volume of sheet music with a historical account of the city of Salzburg, its fortress and the mechanical organ, for which the musical pieces were composed, was quite extraordinary. Cliff Eisen pointed out that this made the volume into a souvenir, a keepsake of the city for the musically erudite visitor.¹³⁹ Commercial considerations aside, the description of the history of the town and its fortress documents Leopold's ardent interest in the subject.

The main source, on which Leopold based his historical abstract, was Franz Dückher's *Salzburgische Chronica*, published in 1666. The opening section of Leopold's historical narrative deals with the town's history from Roman times until the arrival of the first bishop Rupertus around 700. This is basically a condensed version of Dückher's account of the early history of the town, which opens the *Salzburgische Chronica*.¹⁴⁰ Overall, Leopold's dates and names accord with Dückher's work, but two instances prove that Leopold did not copy out his historical abstract uncritically from the older book. Dückher states that Attila the Hun conquered and burned the town into ashes in the year 457.¹⁴¹ Leopold refutes this fact in a footnote in his introduction:

Attila cannot have burned down the town of Helfenburg [i.e. Salzburg] in the year 457, as Dückher purports in his chronicle, because he [Attila] already died in the year 453, which is four years before; he choked on heavy nosebleed on his wedding day or entirely intoxicated, or he was even murdered by his bride.¹⁴²

The other tacit correction by Leopold pertains to the actual founding date of the 'modern' town of Salzburg by Saint Rupert: Dückher declares that Rupert came into

¹³⁸ A strikingly similar historical abstract of music and harmony stands at the beginning of Jean-Baptiste Louis Gresset's little booklet on harmony, which appeared in a German translation by Adam Friedrich Wolff in Berlin in 1752. Johann Jakob Lotter advertises Gresset's work in his catalogues of 1754, 1757 and 1759 (see Chapter 5.2). See Jean-Baptiste Louis Gresset, *Die Harmonie*, trans. Adam Friedrich Wolff (Berlin, Voß, 1752).

¹³⁹ Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart's Souvenirs', *Musiker auf Reisen*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Augsburg, 2011), 88.

¹⁴⁰ See Franz Dückher, *Salzburgische Chronica* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1666), 6–9.

¹⁴¹ See Dückher, *Salzburgische Chronica*, 6.

¹⁴² 'Attila kann im Jahre 457. die Stadt Helfenburg nicht abgebrannt haben, wie Dückher in seiner Chronick vorgiebt, da er im Jahre 453., folglich schon 4. Jahre vorher an seinem Hochzeitstage oder im Rausch durch ein heftiges Nasenbluten ersticket, oder gar von seiner Braut ist ermordet worden.' Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend*, preface unpaginated [footnote e) on page 1 of the historical account on my count].

the area around 582,¹⁴³ Leopold on the other hand gives, historically correct, the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century as the time of Rupert's arrival in Salzburg.¹⁴⁴ Thus instead of just copying the authoritative book on the history of the town, Leopold employed his own reasoning and knowledge of the subject matter, when writing this historical abstract. In doing so, Leopold fulfils one of Zedler's main requirements for good historical writing, even though he publicly denied to be a historian in his preface: Leopold critically scrutinised his sources and detected their internal contradictions.¹⁴⁵

2.2.2 Historical monuments

Leopold's letters and his travel notes abound in references to historical places and buildings that he visited with his family on their European tour or with Wolfgang in Italy. Old churches in particular stood right on top of their sightseeing lists and in this the Mozarts conformed to recommendations for an erudite eighteenth-century traveller. In Johann Georg Keyssler's *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweitz, Italien und Lothringen*, an influential travel guide book, which the Mozarts owned,¹⁴⁶ touristic visits to churches were highly recommended, as the buildings provided a window to the culture, the arts and the history of a place.¹⁴⁷

As historian and archaeologist Keyssler was particularly fascinated by Italy and classical antiquity. He asserted that only the Italian sacred buildings had the artistic and historical value to merit a visit and a detailed description in his book, whereas, 'if a traveller wanted to spend a lot of time wandering around in churches in protestant countries or in France, he would without doubt waste his time and his efforts'.¹⁴⁸ Leopold on the contrary was tremendously fond of the churches and their interiors in the Low Countries.

The week that the Mozarts spent in Mainz in August 1763 might serve as a typical example of the prominence that churches played in Leopold's sightseeing programme: in his travel diary Leopold noted visits to the *Franziskanerkirche*, which no longer exists, St. Peter's church, the *Agneskirche*, *St. Maria ad Gradus*, colloquially known as *Liebfrauenkirche*, the cathedral *St. Martin* and the Jesuit church, which was

¹⁴³ See Dückher, *Salzburgische Chronica*, 7.

¹⁴⁴ See Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend*, preface unpaginated [page 1 on my count].

¹⁴⁵ See Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, xiii, col.283-4.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 3.3.

¹⁴⁷ Johann Georg Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweitz, Italien und Lothringen*, ed. Gottfried Schütze, i (Hannover, Förster, 1751), 618.

¹⁴⁸ Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen*, i, 618.

built by Balthasar Neumann.¹⁴⁹ A few weeks later in Cologne, the family visited the cathedral, which made a filthy and ugly impression on Leopold.¹⁵⁰ In Cologne, Leopold noted two more churches in his travel diary: the Jesuit church *Maria Himmelfahrt* and the *Ursulinenkirche*. It is interesting to note that these were the only two 'modern', baroque churches of the town, while most other churches were in Romanesque architecture.

Touristic visits to churches were also high on the agenda during Leopold's and Wolfgang's journeys to Italy in the 1770s. Writing from Bologna Leopold raves over the 'churches, paintings, beautiful architecture and the interior furnishing of various palaces'.¹⁵¹ Arriving in Rome on 11 April 1770 at midday, Leopold and Wolfgang went to the Sistine Chapel straight away, though the main reason here might have been a musical one: to listen to Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* during the evening mass. Leopold's letter discloses the thoroughness of their exploration of St. Peter's cathedral: 'We have already examined St. Peter's church thoroughly and nothing shall pass unnoticed of whatever there is to be seen here'.¹⁵²

Basically on all their stops in Italy and sometimes even on short stopovers, Wolfgang and Leopold visited the main churches of the town and, occasionally, Wolfgang performed on the organ to the amazement of the local population: this happened for example at *San Marco* in Rovereto, at *San Tommaso* in Verona or at the cathedral of Civita Castellana.¹⁵³ Visiting the churches of Milan and Naples, Leopold was highly critical of the state of the liturgy, but the music and the glory of the buildings still fascinated him.¹⁵⁴

Leopold was also intrigued by historical secular buildings, such as old town halls. He noted the family's visit to the town halls of Augsburg, Bonn, Leuven, Brussels, Gent, Antwerp and Amsterdam in his travel diary.¹⁵⁵ About the town hall in Leuven, Leopold remarked that it was beautiful simply on 'grounds of its antiquity'.¹⁵⁶ To Leopold's mind then, antiquity constituted a value in itself.

¹⁴⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 84-5; not in *Letters*.

¹⁵⁰ See *Briefe*, i, 100 & 102; not in *Letters*.

¹⁵¹ *Briefe*, i, 328; *Letters*, 124.

¹⁵² *Briefe*, i, 335; *Letters*, 127.

¹⁵³ See *Briefe*, i, 298; *Letters*, 103 (Rovereto); *Briefe*, i, 299-300; *Letters*, 104 (Verona); and *Briefe*, i, 370; *Letters*, 149 (Civita Castellana).

¹⁵⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 313; *Letters*, 113 (Milan); and *Briefe*, i, 359; *Letters*, 144 (Naples).

¹⁵⁵ See *Briefe*, i, 74 (Augsburg); *Briefe*, i, 98 (Bonn); *Briefe*, i, 101 (Leuven); *Briefe*, i, 111 (Brussels); *Briefe*, i, 199 (Gent); *Briefe*, i, 200 (Antwerp); and *Briefe*, i, 216 (Amsterdam). All these entries are not included in *Letters*.

¹⁵⁶ *Briefe*, i, 105; not in *Letters*.

Monuments from Greek and Roman times fascinated Leopold, too. When he and Wolfgang travelled through Italy in the 1770s, his excitement at seeing some of the iconic classical sites in person is palpable in the letters. In Verona, they saw the amphitheatre and the *Musaeum Lapidarium*, a museum of antiquities. During their first stay in Rome in April 1770, Leopold was too busy to report their experiences of the sights and antiquities in full in his letters. He referred his wife to Keyssler's travelogue, the *Neueste Reisen* mentioned above, as it was 'useless and quite impossible to describe [the city] in a few words'.¹⁵⁷

In Naples the first weeks were filled with making contacts with the nobility and organising concerts, but the latter part of their stay was devoted to sightseeing.¹⁵⁸ Leopold and Wolfgang visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, the 'two buried cities, where entire rooms from antiquity are being excavated',¹⁵⁹ and they took a look at antique temples and thermal baths in the vicinity. They saw the *Lago Miseno*, the 'dead sea', where according to classical mythology the ferryman Charon ferried the deceased across the lake, and they also paid tribute to the poet Vergil at his tomb, a standard destination for any educated traveller in the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Leopold bought copper engravings of the sights in Naples to bring back home, just as he did in Rome.¹⁶¹ Twenty-four of these engravings from Naples are preserved in the library of the *Salzburg Museum* and they give us an idea of the sights that captured Leopold's interest, though Leopold and Wolfgang did not necessarily see all the places on the prints in person during their stay in the city.¹⁶²

Leopold also harboured a lively interest in and appreciation of new and old fortifications. He admired the technical and monetary effort put into building and maintaining the structures and he perceived the history of the towns and their fortresses as intimately linked. In Tirlmont, for example, Leopold examined the fortifications and stated that 'it must have been a magnificent fortress in its time: one still sees the destroyed fortifications, walls, towers and the most beautiful outer

¹⁵⁷ *Briefe*, i, 335; *Letters*, 127.

¹⁵⁸ See *Briefe*, i, 360; not in *Letters*.

¹⁵⁹ *Briefe*, i, 360; *Letters*, 144.

¹⁶⁰ For a complete list of their sightseeing programme, see *Briefe*, i, 360–1; this list is only given partially in *Letters*, 144–5.

¹⁶¹ See *Briefe*, i, 352; *Letters*, 139.

¹⁶² For digital images of these engravings, see Cliff Eisen et al, *In Mozart's Words*, 'Engravings of Naples owned by Leopold Mozart' <<http://letters.mozartways.com>>. Version 1.0, published by HRI Online, 2011. For a detailed account of these engravings from Naples and further copper engravings from London, see Rudolf Angermüller and Gabriele Ramsauer, "'du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen läßt, schöne Sachen sehen": Veduten aus dem Nachlaß Leopold Mozarts in der Graphiksammlung des Salzburger Museums Carolino Augusteum', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, xlii/1–2 (1994), 1–48.

walls'.¹⁶³ On the way back from London, Leopold made a little detour to Dunkirk, especially in order 'to see the port and because of the eternal dispute between England and France regarding the fortifications'.¹⁶⁴ Both fortifications were destroyed and Leopold lamented that 'it hurts to see such beautiful works, which cost so much money, being demolished'.¹⁶⁵

In Olomouc, Leopold 'examined the fortifications closely, as far as I was allowed to'¹⁶⁶ and Leopold as well as Nannerl recorded the fortress *Ehrenbreitstein* above the Rhine in Coblenz with its extremely deep drawing well in their travel diaries.¹⁶⁷ The Tower of London must have been a real highlight in this respect for Leopold. Unfortunately, he did not write down his impression of the complex in his letter to Hagenauer, but he put the Tower on top of a list of memorable sights in London, which he promised to report on orally once he was back in Salzburg.¹⁶⁸ The preface to *Der Morgen und der Abend* demonstrates just how far Leopold perceived the history of his home town to be interlocked with its fortress. While the title of the preface reads 'Attempt at a short history of the origins of the fortress Hohensalzburg', what follows is actually a historical abstract of the city.

In the eighteenth century, the art of building fortifications was regarded as a reputable science and generally known in Germany as *Kriegs-Bau-Kunst*. In a letter from Paris Leopold reported to Hagenauer that he met the Prince of Brunswick, who was about to leave the city in order to travel Italy. On the way, the prince planned to visit the fortifications of Metz and Strasbourg and Leopold and the prince shared their fascination with fortresses in conversation.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ *Briefe*, i, 105; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁴ *Briefe*, i, 201; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁵ *Briefe*, i, 201; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁶ *Briefe*, i, 250; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 98 & 101; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁸ *Briefe*, i, 183; not in *Letters*.

¹⁶⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 224; not in *Letters*.

2.2.3 Politics

That I could have turned out to be a good newspaper writer might well be true: yet I don't find this difficult for a man, who saw the world, who knows the world and who studied the world.¹⁷⁰

Leopold Mozart wrote these sentences in a letter to his daughter Nannerl towards the end of his life in 1785. In the preceding letter, Leopold gave a summary of the proceedings and motivations behind a political transaction that Leopold simply termed 'the exchange':¹⁷¹ this was a plot pursued by the Habsburg crown, which tried to convince the current elector of Bavaria, Duke Carl Theodor, to swap Bavaria against the Habsburg Netherlands.¹⁷² Leopold's assessment of the political situation prompted Nannerl to commend his excellent skills in news reporting. And indeed, Leopold's lifelong interest in and his understanding of local and international politics are obvious from the family correspondence, as are his skills in reporting them.¹⁷³

According to contemporary understanding, the skills and qualities of a good newspaper writer were closely linked to the skills of a good historian, which Leopold undoubtedly possessed, as seen above. Zedler's encyclopaedia states that a newspaper writer, a '*Zeitungs-Schreiber*', has to 'understand languages, history, genealogy and geography [...]; generally he should have all the qualities of a trustworthy and reasonable historian'.¹⁷⁴ All these subject-matters were close to Leopold's heart.

The plan by the Habsburg crown to annex parts of Bavaria was already on the agenda several years before, when elector Carl Theodor of Palatine succeeded on the Bavarian throne in 1778. At the time, Wolfgang and his mother were travelling via Mannheim, the residency of the elector of Palatine, to Paris. The letters, which Leopold wrote from Salzburg, were full of reports on the newest turns and rumours about the political developments.¹⁷⁵ He repeatedly wanted to get first hand reports

¹⁷⁰ 'Daß ich einen guten Zeitungschreiber hätte machen können, das mag wohl seyn: allein ich finde es nicht schwer für einen Mann, der die Welt gesehen hat, die Welt kennt und solche studiert hat.' *Briefe*, iii, 445; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷¹ See *Briefe*, iii, 439; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷² For more information, see Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, 'Kurfürst Karl Theodor (1777–1799) und das bayerische Tauschprojekt: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des bayerischen Tauschgedankens in der Montgelas-Zeit', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, xxv (1962), 776–800.

¹⁷³ For a summary of political discussions within the Mozart family correspondence, see also Peter Maria Krakauer, 'Politische Gespräche im Hause Mozart', *Maria Anna Mozart*, ed. Siegrid Düll and Otto Neumaier (Mölnese, 2001), 115–33.

¹⁷⁴ Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, lxi, col.917.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. *Briefe*, ii, 229–31, 336, 363 or 446–7; none of these political reports are in *Letters*.

from Maria Anna or Wolfgang on the matter and occasionally, though rarely, he received some.¹⁷⁶

Several other examples, where Leopold exhibits his interest in the large realm of European politics, can be found in the letters. Leopold mentioned the Seven Years' War several times in his correspondence with his landlord Hagenauer from Linz and Vienna¹⁷⁷ and he complained about the strict censorship in the Austrian empire.¹⁷⁸ Leopold also repeatedly commented on the gradual suppression and the eventual abolition of the Jesuit order in Europe.¹⁷⁹

In 1786, Leopold informed Nannerl about the intentions of archbishop Colloredo and the other three German archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Cologne to curtail the papal power in Germany.¹⁸⁰ Already in 1770, Leopold discussed the origins of this dispute between the German archbishops and the Vatican: the pope wanted to install a nunciature in Munich, a bishop's see that stood in direct responsibility to the pope.¹⁸¹ Leopold immediately saw the potential quarrels resulting out of this project. These quarrels between the pope and the archbishops lead to the *Emser Punktation* in 1786 and early in 1787 Leopold bought a little booklet on the results of the congress in Bad Ems, which he shared with Nannerl.¹⁸² Even political developments outside Western Europe interested Leopold and in the letters he commented on the American War of Independence,¹⁸³ a battle in India¹⁸⁴ and the wars between Russia and Turkey.¹⁸⁵

Local politics take up a lot of space in the Mozarts' correspondence, too. During the summer of the year 1770, for example, Salzburg experienced a period of heavy inflation due to a bad harvest and the quickly growing population. Leopold and Wolfgang were in Italy at the time and Maria Anna complained repeatedly about everything becoming more expensive at home.¹⁸⁶ Leopold had a clear opinion on how to contain the inflation, but 'in Salzburg no one thinks about the fact [...] that one has to keep the whole [economic system] in its due balance'.¹⁸⁷ His ideas for

¹⁷⁶ See e.g. *Briefe*, ii, 367 & 410; *Letters*, 543 & 574.

¹⁷⁷ See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 50, 57 & 60-1; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷⁸ See *Briefe*, i, 54; *Letters*, 7.

¹⁷⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 326 & 391; *Letters*, 120 & 161-2.

¹⁸⁰ See *Briefe*, iii, 579-80 & 588; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸¹ See *Briefe*, i, 385-6; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸² See *Briefe*, iv, 18 & 23; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸³ See *Briefe*, ii, 337; *Letters*, 525.

¹⁸⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 190; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸⁵ See *Briefe*, i, 510; *Letters*, 244; and *Briefe*, ii, 363; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸⁶ Maria Anna's letters are not extant, so we can only infer this from Leopold's answers. See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 380 & 385; *Letters*, 156 & 159.

¹⁸⁷ *Briefe*, i, 357; not in *Letters*.

reforms were too complex to fit 'onto such a little patch of paper', so he did not share them with his wife, and after all 'what would it help?'¹⁸⁸ In a later letter Leopold draws a bleak picture how this inflation will affect the Salzburg society: in his eyes more and more court servants and other citizens of the town will be driven into poverty.¹⁸⁹

Apparently, Leopold sometimes even was actively involved in politics at home: after the election of Dominikus Hagenauer as abbot of St. Peter in 1786, he reported proudly to Nannerl 'that my prepared mine sprung successfully'.¹⁹⁰ Leopold did not disclose any details on this affair in his letter, but he put Nannerl off until they met in person, to share the full story.

For Leopold a structured way of reporting news was an ideal to aspire to in letter writing. In the late 1770s, Leopold frequently admonished his wife and Wolfgang to structure their letters. He himself 'always [kept] a blank piece of paper on his desk', on which he noted down with a few words what he wanted to include in the next letter.¹⁹¹ While the family was on their European tour, Leopold requested their landlord Hagenauer to ask his oldest son to write updates on Salzburg life and politics:

On occasion, let *Herr Johannes* write down bit by bit, whatever news there are, small on a sheet of paper; then add yourself, whatever you have to write to me at the end. I don't need any titles; the letter may look just like a newspaper.¹⁹²

Johann Nepomuk Hagenauer obviously fulfilled Leopold's request diligently and to Leopold's full contentment. In September 1764, Leopold thanked *Herr Johannes* for his endeavours, because 'we read his newspaper reports with eagerness and attentiveness'.¹⁹³ Leopold's interest in politics and the insight, which he shows when discussing politics in his correspondence, make the abbot Dominikus Hagenauer's claim in his obituary for Leopold all the more convincing that Leopold 'would have been capable of rendering good service to the State even apart from music'.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ *Briefe*, i, 357; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸⁹ *Briefe*, i, 399; *Letters*, 168.

¹⁹⁰ *Briefe*, iii, 497; not in *Letters*. For more details on this, see Hahnl, 'Die gesprengte Mine'.

¹⁹¹ *Briefe*, ii, 61; *Letters*, 321. For another exhortation to keep a piece of paper as an *aide memoire*, see *Briefe*, ii, 384; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹² 'Lassen sie den Herrn Johannes nach und nach, was neues giebt, mit Gelegenheit, klein auf einen Bogen hinschreiben; dann schreiben sie gleichwohl das, was sie mir zu schreiben haben am Ende daran. Ich habe keine Tituls nötig; der Brief mag einer Zeitung ähnlich sehen.' *Briefe*, i, 116; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹³ *Briefe*, i, 169; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹⁴ From Dominikus Hagenauer's diary, 28 May 1787. Cited in *Dokumente*, 258; *Documentary Biography*, 293.

2.2.4 Languages

As cited above, Zedler lists an understanding of languages first among the qualities of a good *Zeitungs-Schreiber*. For all his travels, Leopold needed to have at least some basic knowledge of the main European languages. At school Leopold learned Latin and classical Greek and he spoke Italian, French, English and possibly also a little Dutch. While he learned English and Dutch on tour in the 1760s,¹⁹⁵ it is unclear when Leopold acquired his skills in Italian and French.

Leopold's interest in languages was truly thorough, '*gründlich*', and included the level of etymology. Leopold himself used the term *Wortforschung*, a 'research into words', in his *Violinschule*, when trying to explain the etymology of the *Tirata*.¹⁹⁶ An etymological discussion of the word '*Musik*' opens the historical abstract in the *Violinschule*: Leopold offers several possible derivations for the word from German, Greek, Egyptian or Hebrew roots.¹⁹⁷

Leopold's care for and interest in the German language is prominently displayed in the letters, which he exchanged with Johann Jakob Lotter during the preparation of the *Violinschule* for publication. These letters are full of discussions on minute details of the German language. For example, Leopold pondered, whether the German word for 'to demand' should read '*fodern*' or '*fordern*',¹⁹⁸ whether the title of the second section of the first chapter should read '*Von dem Tacte, oder musikalischen Zeitmaaße*' or '*Von dem Tact, oder musikalischen Zeitmaaß*',¹⁹⁹ or in which case the German word for 'second' should read '*zwote*' or '*zweyte*'.²⁰⁰

At the beginning of the publication process Leopold was insecure about his German language skills and writing style. In June 1755, he confessed to Lotter that 'I'm far from being an expert in the [correct] writing style' and, if Lotter found something to improve regarding the style, he should go ahead.²⁰¹ On several instances Leopold left the final decision on linguistic matters to Lotter, for example if it was '*biegen*' or '*beugen*',²⁰² or if it read '*weitläuftiger*' or '*weitläufiger*'.²⁰³ During the process of proofreading and improving the manuscript of the *Violinschule*, Leopold became gradually more confident in his own sense of linguistic detail and in

¹⁹⁵ At one point, Leopold claims to be the first person at the Salzburg court to speak English. See *Briefe*, i, 158; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹⁶ See *Violinschule*, 248–9.

¹⁹⁷ *Violinschule*, 10–1.

¹⁹⁸ *Briefe*, i, 7; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹⁹ *Briefe*, i, 7; not in *Letters*.

²⁰⁰ *Briefe*, i, 10; not in *Letters*.

²⁰¹ *Briefe*, i, 6; not in *Letters*.

²⁰² *Briefe*, i, 9; not in *Letters*.

²⁰³ *Briefe*, i, 12; not in *Letters*.

January 1756 he lectured Lotter on the etymologic difference between 'nämlich' and 'vernehmlich'.²⁰⁴

As yardstick for the correct writing style, Leopold based himself on the authority of Gottsched's *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst*.²⁰⁵ Leopold also referred to Johann Leonhard Frisch's *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch* as guide in linguistic questions.²⁰⁶ Yet, just as in the case of the historical preface to *Der Morgen und der Abend*, Leopold did not uncritically follow the guidelines, but he employed his own opinion and stylistic taste in his decisions.

Regarding the question if it should read 'Tact' or 'Tacte' and 'Zeitmaaß' or 'Zeitmaaße', Leopold was aware that the version with the letter 'e' at the end was grammatically correct. Yet, he initially decided to trust his own ears that 'Tacte' 'sounds very laboured' and therefore he wanted to use 'Tact' and 'Zeitmaaß'.²⁰⁷ A few weeks later, Leopold suggested a compromise between the rules and his ears in that the title would read 'Von dem Tacte oder Musikalischen Zeitmaaß', one word with the letter 'e' and the other without.²⁰⁸ Eventually, Leopold surrendered to the rules and changed the title into 'Von dem Tacte oder Musikalischen Zeitmaaße', 'because I find it everywhere like that'.²⁰⁹

In another instance, whether the feminine genitive of the pronoun 'diese' should be 'deren' or 'derer', the process unfolded the opposite way. At first, Leopold followed Gottsched's rule that it should read 'derer', but then Leopold was thankful to Lotter, who apparently changed some instances into 'deren': 'I disliked it myself, [but] Gottsched misled me'.²¹⁰ Concerning the German word for difference, 'Unterschied', Leopold knew that Gottsched suggested 'Unterscheid' in all cases, but that 'Unterschied' was also correct.²¹¹ In the end, a purely practical consideration won the argument: because he used 'Unterschied' on the first sheet, he stuck with it for the remainder of the book.²¹²

Two contemporary reviews document that Leopold's detailed care for the writing style in the *Violinschule* paid off. The review Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische*

²⁰⁴ Briefe, i, 31; not in Letters.

²⁰⁵ See e.g. Briefe, i, 5, 8 & 9; not in Letters.

²⁰⁶ See Briefe, i, 5; not in Letters.

²⁰⁷ Briefe, i, 5; not in Letters.

²⁰⁸ See Briefe, i, 7; not in Letters.

²⁰⁹ Briefe, i, 24; not in Letters.

²¹⁰ Briefe, i, 8; not in Letters.

²¹¹ See Briefe, i, 20; not in Letters.

²¹² See Briefe, i, 20; not in Letters.

Beyträge praised Leopold's 'immaculate German style'²¹³ and the review cited above from the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* commended the language of the publication, too:

What surprises and delights us at the same time regarding this work, is the neat and clear writing-style and the effortlessly fluent presentation, which makes the work all the more enjoyable and useful, and which one would not easily expect from this area of Germany.²¹⁴

For Leopold, the polished language of the *Violinschule* was not an end in itself, because to his mind language skills and musical skills were interdependent and influenced each other:

what can one think of a man, who cannot even arrange six clear words in his mother tongue and set them down intelligibly on paper, but who nevertheless considers himself a learned composer?²¹⁵

2.2.5 Visual arts

Many pictures were hanging on the walls of the Mozarts' Salzburg home: some were of religious subjects, such as a picture of Saint John of Nepomuk, another one of the virgin Mary, or a depiction of the Nativity scene.²¹⁶ Yet, the majority of paintings were of secular subjects: four landscape paintings, two landscapes with eremites, two paintings of peasants resting, four depictions of battle scenes, two paintings of cattle and four with other animals, two portraits of children, four paintings of equestrians and four pictures showing different people of rather humble professions, a night-watchman, a woman selling fruits, a chimney sweeper and a shoeblack.²¹⁷ Such an amount of pictures was by no means exceptional for contemporary Salzburg homes, as many estate documents of the time reveal. Yet, it shows how visual artefacts surrounded the Mozarts at home and it links well with the lively interest, with which Leopold reported of paintings and artefacts on his travels through Europe.

²¹³ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iii, 162–3.

²¹⁴ 'Was uns zugleich bey diesem Werke wundert und erfreuet, das ist die nette und reine Schreibart und der ungezwungene fließende Vortrag, die es durchaus angenehm und nützlicher machen, welche man aus dieser Gegend Deutschlands nicht leicht erwartet hätte.' Weiße, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, x, 53.

²¹⁵ 'Was kann man wohl von jenem denken, der nicht einmal in seiner Muttersprache 6. reine Wörter in Ordnung setzen und verständlich zu Papier bringen kann, dem allem aber ungeachtet ein gelehrter Componist heissen will?' *Violinschule*, 108.

²¹⁶ See *LM Licitation*, 20–1.

²¹⁷ *LM Licitation*, 20–1.

Josef Mancal pointed out that already during his childhood days in Augsburg Leopold was in contact with several painters, who lived in the neighbourhood.²¹⁸ For example, Johann Georg Bergmüller, a respected painter and engraver, lived in the immediate vicinity of the Mozart family's house. When Bergmüller moved out in 1728, his pupil Johann Georg Wolcker took over his house. Gottfried Bernhard Goez, another pupil of Bergmüller's, also lived close by and Goez's wife was the god mother of two of Leopold's nephews.

Leopold kept in touch with quite a few Augsburg painters and artists, after he left his native town in 1736. When Leopold passed through Augsburg with his family in 1763, they visited Goez and his wife.²¹⁹ The portrait of Leopold, which stands at the beginning of his *Violinschule*, was engraved either by Gottfried Eichler the elder or by his son Gottfried Eichler the younger – both were residents of Augsburg at the time.²²⁰ In July 1755, Leopold asked his publisher Lotter, how much one had to pay the painter and engraver Johann Esaias Nilson for the four planned figures in the *Violinschule*: two portraits showing two ways of holding the violin and two 'arms or hands, to show the bad and the good way to hold the bow'.²²¹ Eventually, only three figures ended up in the final publication – the two hands showing the different bow holds were united on a single plate. The three plates are unsigned and Leopold seems to have stuck to his alternative plan of asking someone in Salzburg 'who is good at drawing' and then producing the plates himself.²²² It is unclear when and where Leopold learnt the art of etching, but for his first musical publication, the six trio sonatas published in 1740, he engraved the copper plates himself.²²³

Leopold apparently had a particular interest in meeting painters and artists during the Western European tour from 1763 until 1766. Many names of painters show up in his travel notebooks, where he only wrote down things that he considered most important or noteworthy on the trip. In Bruchsal, for example, he

²¹⁸ See Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*, 43–4.

²¹⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 74; not in *Letters*.

²²⁰ The *Neue Deutsche Biographie* lists Leopold's portrait as Gottfried Eichler the younger's work, see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, iv (Berlin, 1959), 382.

²²¹ *Briefe*, i, 9; not in *Letters*.

²²² See *Briefe*, i, 9; not in *Letters*. Half a year later on 26 January 1756 Leopold mentions in a letter to Lotter that the drawings are in the making, see *Briefe*, i, 31; not in *Letters*.

²²³ Leopold Mozart, *Sonate Sei per Chiesa e da Camera a tre* (Salzburg, 1740) [LMV XII:1–6]. Max Seiffert states that only the music was engraved by Leopold Mozart, while a professional engraver produced the title pages and the dedication. See Leopold Mozart, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Max Seiffert (Leipzig, 1908), page XI.

became acquainted with 'Mr. Trau, court painter':²²⁴ this is likely to be either Johann Nicolaus Treu or Johann Joseph Christoph Treu, both of whom were court painters with connections with the court in Bruchsal.²²⁵

In August 1763, Leopold's travel diary documents a meeting with the court painter Heinrich Carl Brandt in Mainz, who was Viennese by birth and who studied in Paris before gaining a position as painter at the Palatine court.²²⁶ In Brussels, Leopold made contact with the painter Ignaz Katzl,²²⁷ employee of prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine. The Mozarts also got to know Eusebius Johann Alphen during their stay in Brussels in 1763 and Leopold noted in his diary that Alphen was 'a felicitous painter of miniatures'.²²⁸ The Mozarts met Alphen again in Paris²²⁹ and later in Milan.²³⁰ Wolfgang's and Leopold's encounter with Alphen in Milan is recorded in a postscript by Wolfgang to his sister: 'Mr. Älfen is in Milan, and he is still the same as he had been in Vienna and Paris'.²³¹ This implies another meeting in Vienna, probably in 1768, and it hints at a quite amicable relation between Alphen and the Mozart family.

Leopold records meetings with three visual artists in Paris: the engraver Christian de Mechel,²³² the amateur painter Louis Carrogis, known as Carmontel,²³³ and Charles André van Loo, 'first painter of the King and his wife'.²³⁴ Carmontel was the painter of the famous group portrait of Leopold and his children making music: in the centre sits Wolfgang at the harpsichord, Leopold stands behind his back playing the violin and Nannerl is pictured holding some sheet music and singing.²³⁵ Whether Leopold ordered this painting from Carmontel or whether it

²²⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 78; not in *Letters*.

²²⁵ For biographical information on the brothers Treu, see Killy and Vierhaus, *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, x, 83–4.

²²⁶ See *Briefe*, i, 85; not in *Letters*. For biographical information on Carl Heinrich Brandt, see Killy and Vierhaus, *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, ii, 69.

²²⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 111; not in *Letters*. For biographical information on Ignaz Katzl, see Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, xix (Leipzig, 1926), 597.

²²⁸ *Briefe*, i, 110; not in *Letters*. For biographical information on Eusebius Johann Alphen, see Günter Meißner and Andreas Beyer, eds., *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, ii (Munich, 1992), 638.

²²⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 227; not in *Letters*.

²³⁰ See *Briefe*, i, 451; not in *Letters*.

²³¹ *Briefe*, i, 451; not in *Letters*.

²³² See *Briefe*, i, 117; not in *Letters*.

²³³ See *Briefe*, i, 144; not in *Letters*.

²³⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 144; not in *Letters*.

²³⁵ For a reproduction of several versions of this painting and the engravings based on it, see *DeutschBilder*, 5–7.

was a referential act of admiration by the amateur painter, is unclear. Leopold got Christian de Mechel to engrave this painting soon after it was made in 1763.²³⁶

On the remainder of their Western European journey the Mozarts met relatively few painters or Leopold was weary noting all of them in his travel diary. His travel notes only inform us of two painters in London, John Zoffani and George James,²³⁷ and Jean Huber, a friend of Voltaire's in Geneva.²³⁸

Leopold also took interest in the artists of his hometown Salzburg. In June 1786, he 'went to see Herr von Treubach, in order to take a look at his son's drawings and paintings'.²³⁹ The family 'Treubach', whom Leopold visited, was probably Johann Philipp Stainhauser von Treuberg and his son Gandolph Ernst.²⁴⁰ Obviously, Leopold approved of what he saw: 'the drawings are indeed quite admirable for a young man' and 'if he will be taught painting, mixture of colours and posture, he could become a great painter'.²⁴¹ Apart from the young Treuberg, the Salzburg court painter Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni was among Leopold's acquaintances and two portraits of Wolfgang and Nannerl as children are commonly ascribed to him.²⁴²

The Mozarts probably got to know the painter Martin Knoller in Salzburg, though the first documented meeting between Leopold and Knoller took place in Milan in 1770.²⁴³ Apparently, Maria Anna Mozart asked about Knoller in a now lost letter, which implies that the Mozarts were friends with him or at least knew him before. Knoller was born in Steinach in Tyrol in 1725 and studied in Salzburg and Vienna. Though he made Milan his permanent home from 1759, some of Knoller's most important works were church paintings for collegiate churches in Bavaria, such as the Benedictine abbeys in Ettal and in Neresheim. In Milan, Knoller served as painter of Karl Joseph von Firmian. Franz Lactanz von Firmian also deserves naming among the artist friends of the Mozarts in Salzburg: his pencil portrait of the

²³⁶ Two short notices exchanged between Leopold and Mechel suggest a personal friendship between them. See *Briefe*, i, 120–1; only one of the notices is included in *Letters*, 33.

²³⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 193 & 195; not in *Letters*.

²³⁸ See *Briefe*, i, 229; not in *Letters*.

²³⁹ *Briefe*, iii, 397; not in *Letters*.

²⁴⁰ Gandolph Ernst Stainhauser von Treuberg became most famous for a portrait of the 30-year old Ludwig van Beethoven. For a digital image of this portrait, see: <http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=&template=dokseite_digitaales_archiv_en&_dokid=bi:i771&_seite=1> [accessed 1 September 2015].

²⁴¹ *Briefe*, iii, 397; not in *Letters*.

²⁴² For a reproduction of these portraits, see *DeutschBilder*, 3 & 57.

²⁴³ See *Briefe*, i, 315; not in *Letters*.

young Leopold with violin, which dates from around 1762, is now held at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.²⁴⁴

Leopold's interest in the visual arts is not only evident in the social network of contemporary artists, which he cultivated on his travels and at home in Salzburg, but also in his appreciation of works of art or of the artistry involved in making an object, be it large or small. Just as the Mozarts took visitors in Salzburg to *Schloss Leopoldskron* and showed them count Firmian's art gallery,²⁴⁵ they visited many picture galleries on their travels themselves.

In Mannheim, they saw the 'picture gallery' in the princely residence²⁴⁶ and Leopold noted in his travel diary their visit to the 'stupendous gallery and academy or concert rooms' in Bonn, which were filled with 'paintings, all sorts of clocks, tables with marquetry, all sorts of porcelain, in particular Chinese rarities'.²⁴⁷ From Bonn Leopold related a particularly interesting detail for the Salzburg audience of his letter: the marquetry of the tables, which looked like marble but was made from some composite material, imitated copper engravings, 'which seem to be loosely placed'²⁴⁸ on the tables and among these fake copper engravings was one reproduction of a drawing made by the Salzburg court master Franz Lactanz von Firmian.²⁴⁹

Peter Paul Rubens and other Flemish artists

Leopold was particularly fond of works by Flemish artists, many of which he saw during the travels through the Low Countries. He expressly mentioned and enthused about these paintings in his letters and often noted them down in his travel diary, too. Peter Paul Rubens clearly was Leopold's favourite painter and Leopold's letters document his glowing admiration upon seeing some of Rubens's works. In Brussels, Leopold reported to Hagenauer that he had 'day and night before my eyes that picture by Rubens, in the big church, in which Christ in the presence of the other apostles hands the keys to Peter'.²⁵⁰ The 'big church' was *Saint Michel et Saint Gudule*, then a collegiate church, now the cathedral of Brussels, and

²⁴⁴ For a reproduction of the drawing, see *DeutschBilder*, 28. The identification of Leopold on the picture is not beyond doubt.

²⁴⁵ For example in 1780 Nannerl notes in her diary a visit to the castle together with the two 'foreign visitors' Georg and Johann Friedrich Eck. See *NannerlDiary*, 72.

²⁴⁶ See *Briefe*, i, 82; not in *Letters*.

²⁴⁷ *Briefe*, i, 98; not in *Letters*.

²⁴⁸ *Briefe*, i, 102; not in *Letters*.

²⁴⁹ *Briefe*, i, 102; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁰ *Briefe*, i, 106; *Letters*, 30.

the painting of Christ handing the key to Saint Peter was made by Rubens around 1616.²⁵¹ The travel notes confirm just how important this painting was to Leopold: 'the big church, where the most beautiful paintings by Rubens and others can be seen. N.B. in the chapel, where Christ hands the keys to Peter'.²⁵²

In Antwerp, Rubens's home town for most of his life, Leopold saw four paintings by his idol in addition to the tomb of the artist.²⁵³ In particular, the painting depicting Christ's descent from the cross in the cathedral left a lasting impression on Leopold and he called it 'a piece by Rubens that surpasses all imagination'.²⁵⁴

Not only Rubens but also works by other Flemish artists impressed Leopold: in the main church in Leuven he saw 'very many old and excellent paintings'²⁵⁵ and the cathedral and the Carmelite church in Brussels had noteworthy paintings by other artists than Rubens, too.²⁵⁶ In a letter from Brussels, Leopold included a long list of 'the most famous painters, whose works of art may be seen in Brabant':²⁵⁷ Hubert van Eyck, Jan van Eyck, Rubens, Gerrit van Honthorst, Jacob Jordaens, Lucas Gassel, Jacob Grimmer, Paul Bril, Wilhelm von Bommel, Gillis Mostaert, Maerten de Vos, Joos van Winghe, Cornelis Ketel, a certain 'Michael Janson',²⁵⁸ Michiel Janszoon van Mierevelt, Anthony van Dyck, Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, Bartholomaeus Spranger and Lucas van Leyden.

Leopold's love for Dutch and Flemish art has been noted frequently in the modern literature, just as the visits of the family to the churches in the Low Countries and their awe in seeing the paintings by Rubens in particular.²⁵⁹ What slipped the attention of Mozart research so far are the number of paintings by Dutch and Flemish painters in picture collections in Salzburg, which provided the background to Leopold's enthusiasm and also to an understanding of Leopold's

²⁵¹ The original painting is now at the *Wallace Collection* in London. For a digital image and further information on this painting, see <http://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=64968&viewType=detailView> [accessed on 2 May 2015].

²⁵² *Briefe*, i, 110; not in *Letters*.

²⁵³ See *Briefe*, i, 198; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁴ *Briefe*, i, 202-3; *Letters*, 59. For a digital image and further information on this painting, see http://www.dekathedraal.be/en/kunstschat/ks_13.htm [accessed on 2 May 2015].

²⁵⁵ *Briefe*, i, 101; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁶ *Briefe*, i, 110; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁷ *Briefe*, i, 106; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁸ According to the commentary of *Briefe* a member of the artist family Janssens. See *Briefe*, v, 87.

²⁵⁹ See e.g. Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*, 43-8; Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar* (Aldershot, 2001), 16-7; Katelijne Schiltz and Hilde van Gelder, 'Sounding Silence: Mozart, Music, and the Visual Arts', *In the Name of Mozart*, ed. Hilde van Gelder (Leuven, 2006), 11-21.

letters by the recipients back in their home town. Imma Walderdorff reconstructed the picture galleries of the Salzburg court and she documented several paintings by Rubens that were part of the picture collection of the archbishops.²⁶⁰ Some of the paintings that were listed as 'originals by Rubens' in the eighteenth century do not withstand modern art historical scrutiny, but for Leopold and his contemporaries they simply were paintings by Rubens. Equally, some pictures were labelled as 'faithful copies' of Rubens's work and these would also add to the knowledge of the artist and his painting style in Salzburg.

The 'Great Gallery opposite St. Peter' of the old archiepiscopal residence in Salzburg included three copies of paintings by Rubens:²⁶¹ *Susanna and the Elders*,²⁶² *Remus and Romulus*²⁶³ and *Venus and Cupid*.²⁶⁴ An inventory from 1711 listed 70 paintings that were hung in the so-called '*Schöne Gallerie*' of the Salzburg *Residenz* and among these were two paintings, which were thought to be originals by Rubens: 'a head of a man in contour with a reddish beard. Orig[inal] by Peter Paul Rubens' and, secondly, 'an overlong picture painted on wood', which depicts a bucolic scene with shepherds and shepherdesses and a rainbow.²⁶⁵ This second painting is nowadays attributed to Lucas van Uden.²⁶⁶ Furthermore the archiepiscopal picture collection included a copy of Rubens's *Democritus and Heraclitus*,²⁶⁷ a 'head of an old man' from the 'school of Rubens',²⁶⁸ and two hunting pictures by Rubens, a boar and a deer hunt.²⁶⁹

The galleries also held paintings by many Flemish artists, which Leopold named in his list cited above. The inventory of the '*Schöne Gallerie*' lists five paintings by Anthony van Dyck, two by Marten de Vos, a landscape with animals by Herman Saftleven, an animal painting by Melchior d'Hondecoeter, a picture of St. Magdalene by Abraham van Diepenbeeck, a picture of a 'grand architectural building' by Hans Vredeman de Vries and an 'allegory of love' by an unknown

²⁶⁰ Imma Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz in Salzburg unter Fürsterzbischof Hieronymus Graf Colloredo (1772–1803/1812)* (dissertation, Universität Wien, 2010).

²⁶¹ For a transcript of the inventory of the '*Große Gallerie gegen St. Peter*', see Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 123–6.

²⁶² The original painting is now at the *Galleria Borghese* in Rome.

²⁶³ The original painting is now at the *Musei Capitolini* in Rome.

²⁶⁴ The original painting is now at the *Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza* in Madrid. A digital image can be viewed at: <http://www.museothyssen.org/en/thyssen/ficha_obra/192> [accessed on 2 May 2015].

²⁶⁵ For a transcript of the 1711 inventory of the '*Schöne Gallerie*', see Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 128–37. Rubens's paintings are listed on pages 133 and 136.

²⁶⁶ See Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 138.

²⁶⁷ See Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 146.

²⁶⁸ See Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 149.

²⁶⁹ See Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 151.

Dutch artist.²⁷⁰ The inventory of the 'Great Gallery opposite St. Peter' documents another eight paintings by or attributed to Flemish artists²⁷¹ and in other chambers of the residence there were 'a Dutch winter-painting' by Jan van den Hoecke²⁷² and an anonymous Dutch market scene.²⁷³

Apart from this large amount of paintings by Flemish artists in the picture collections of the court, some private collectors in Salzburg also owned works by Dutch painters. At his death in 1729, Max Joseph Kuenburg's art collections included two still lifes with flowers by Breughel, a picture of a faun by Jordaens, a painting of a woman by Rubens and many further 'Holländer', which are not identified specifically.²⁷⁴ The picture collection of Franz Lactanz von Firmian also included many works by Flemish artists, including multiple works by Rubens, Honthorst, Rembrandt and Jordaens.²⁷⁵

Possibly, the Mozarts themselves owned some Dutch paintings at home, too: when Mary and Vincent Novello visited Maria Anna von Sonnenburg, Wolfgang's sister, in 1829, they saw some portraits by van Dyck and Rembrandt in her living room.²⁷⁶ It is impossible to substantiate whether these artworks were originally part of the Mozart family's Salzburg home, but it does show that Nannerl inherited Leopold's love for Dutch paintings.

Applied arts

Adelung distinguished in his dictionary between the 'free arts' and the 'mechanical arts':²⁷⁷ the objective of the free arts was solely an aesthetic pleasure or any sensation out of the aesthetic experience, while the mechanical arts produced practical objects which 'also take into account the [aesthetic] pleasure'.²⁷⁸ Many of the galleries mentioned above, which the Mozarts visited, displayed paintings and statues alongside exotic curiosities and artful exemplars of everyday objects: the collection in Bonn included clocks, porcelain and jewellery and in Brussels Leopold

²⁷⁰ For a transcript of the 1711 inventory of the 'Schöne Gallerie', see Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 128–37.

²⁷¹ For a transcript of the inventory of the 'Große Gallerie gegen St. Peter', see Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 123–6.

²⁷² Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 152.

²⁷³ Walderdorff, *Die fürsterzbischöfliche Residenz*, 154.

²⁷⁴ See Martin, 'Von Sammlern und Sammlungen im alten Salzburg', 54.

²⁷⁵ For a description of Franz Lactanz von Firmian's art collection, see Lorenz Hübner, *Beschreibung der hochfürstlich erzbischöflichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i (Salzburg, Oberer, 1792), 428–34.

²⁷⁶ Vincent Novello, *A Mozart pilgrimage*, ed. Rosemary Hughes (London, 1955), 89.

²⁷⁷ Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, ii, col.1831–2.

²⁷⁸ Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, ii, col.1831.

admired works of tapestry, 'original Chinese statues', porcelain and rarities of natural history in addition to the paintings.²⁷⁹

Leopold reported to Hagenauer from Paris that 'you will find paintings on the coaches, which could be exhibited in the foremost picture galleries' and promised to post copper engravings to Salzburg.²⁸⁰ He added that most of the keyboard instruments were elaborately painted and lacquered in the same manner. While Leopold did not comment on these decorated instruments in his letter to Hagenauer, a passage in the *Violinschule* betrays his attitude to the exterior splendour of musical instruments. Talking about the scroll of the violin, which sometimes was replaced by a carved lion's head, Leopold lamented that some violin makers paid more attention to these decorative aspects than to the sound of the instrument.²⁸¹ From this, Leopold drew a connection to the general world and the tide of his time to judge things and persons by their appearance rather than their true inner qualities.

Many presents, which the Mozart family received from noble patrons on their European journey, were artful and precious little objects, true examples of the mechanical arts. The diary of Beda Hübner gives an idea of the amount and the nature of presents that the Mozarts brought back from their journey in 1766. On his visit to the Mozarts' home a few days after their return, Hübner counted 'twelve golden snuff boxes' and he continues:

Of gold rings set with the most handsome precious stones he [Leopold] has so many that he does not know himself how many; ear-rings for the ladies, necklaces, knives with golden blades, bottle-holders, writing utensils, toothpick boxes, gold *objets* for the ladies, writing-tablets and suchlike gewgaw without number and without end.²⁸²

Apparently, Leopold turned their own home in the Getreidegasse into a kind of gallery just like the galleries of noble princes that they visited on tour. Hübner clearly was astounded by the amount of presents laid out in the Mozarts' home. He spent 'several hours' there, even though he was looking at things only cursorily, and he 'saw with [his] eyes and touched with [his] hands all the presents and tributes they had received on the whole of their journey',²⁸³ as if he encountered religious

²⁷⁹ *Briefe*, i, 106–7; *Letters*, 30.

²⁸⁰ *Briefe*, i, 136; not in *Letters*.

²⁸¹ *Violinschule*, 5.

²⁸² From the diary of Pater Beda Hübner in Salzburg, 8 December 1766, cited in *Dokumente*, 66; *Documentary Biography*, 70.

²⁸³ Hübner *Diarium*, 8 December 1766. Cited in *Dokumente*, 65; *Documentary Biography*, 70.

relics. In fact, Hübner compared the experience of his visit to ‘inspecting a church treasury’ adding that this was ‘not because of its value but because of its rarity, for so many things from various countries are rarely to be seen collected together, as they are at Herr Mozart’s’.²⁸⁴

2.2.6 Natural Sciences and technology

Leopold took great interest in watches and clock making, a craft that Adelung singled out as being ‘more of an art’ than an ordinary craft.²⁸⁵ Leopold described in detail different types of watches made in London or Paris in his letters and he also took on orders for watches from his Salzburg acquaintances.²⁸⁶ From London, Leopold checked with Hagenauer whether the clock makers in Salzburg knew what a ‘horizontal watch’ was. According to Leopold’s explanation, watches of this kind were a recent invention and he was worried that nobody could repair such a watch, if he brought one back to Salzburg.²⁸⁷ In 1764 Comtesse de Tesse gave Wolfgang a gold watch, ‘valuable on account of its smallness’, and Leopold even sketched the outline of the watch in his letter, so Hagenauer could envisage the extraordinary artifice involved in making such a small watch.²⁸⁸ The construction of large clocks was similarly of interest to Leopold and the highlight of their stopover in Valenciennes in 1766 was the examination of the clock on top of the town hall.²⁸⁹

Other mechanical feats of his time intrigued Leopold’s mind, too. In Bonn he saw a ‘machine with a hand that writes *vivat clemens*’,²⁹⁰ in Brussels he met an inventor, who had constructed ‘two figures, which could play the flute, and two birds, which could sing’²⁹¹ and in London it was a water pump that supplied the city with water from the Thames and a new type of machine that automatically turned the roast on the fire, which caught Leopold’s interest.²⁹²

Another innovation, which Leopold encountered in London in 1764 for the first time, was a lightning rod.²⁹³ It took until the late 1770s that the first lighting conductors were installed in Salzburg: in June 1777 the councillor and merchant Franz Xaver von Weiser installed lightning conductors in front of his house outside

²⁸⁴ Hübner *Diarium*, 8 December 1766. Cited in *Dokumente*, 66; *Documentary Biography*, 70.

²⁸⁵ Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, iv, col.790.

²⁸⁶ See *Briefe*, i, 184–5; not in *Letters*.

²⁸⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 184; not in *Letters*.

²⁸⁸ *Briefe*, i, 124; *Letters*, 36.

²⁸⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 220; not in *Letters*.

²⁹⁰ *Briefe*, i, 99; not in *Letters*.

²⁹¹ *Briefe*, i, 110; not in *Letters*.

²⁹² *Briefe*, i, 182; not in *Letters*.

²⁹³ See *Briefe*, i, 160; not in *Letters*.

the city gates²⁹⁴ and in summer 1778 some were erected at the Mirabell castle. Leopold commented on them ironically that they also should be placed above the archbishop's head, in order to deflect the 'evil wishes and curses of the public about the new tax regulations'.²⁹⁵

The university professor Dominikus Beck was the moving spirit behind the installation of the lightning conductors in Salzburg. As professor of mathematics and experimental physics, Beck was the curator of a 'physical-mathematical museum' at the university, which he equipped with modern instruments, machines and appliances for experimental physics. From 1772 on, Beck held an annual series of public lectures during the summer months and Nannerl and Leopold, just as Schidenhofen, went to at least some of Beck's lectures: in 1776 Nannerl noted in her diary the start of the lecture series in experimental physics on 8 May²⁹⁶ and in 1783 she mentioned five lectures in her diary.²⁹⁷

For these lectures in experimental physics printed overviews were published and some of them are extant.²⁹⁸ If Nannerl attended all eight lectures of the series in 1776, she saw physical experiments demonstrating the inertia force in week one, several ways to light a fire in week two, the working principle behind thermometers in week three, a comparison between electricity and thunder storms in week four, the effect of surface tension on water in week five, experiments in a vacuum box in week six, another session on electricity in week seven and a final lecture on the orbit of planets and stars in week eight.²⁹⁹ Each of these lectures finished with an 'amusement', or '*Belustigung*', as they were called in the overview, in which a physical experiment was shown, in order to puzzle and to entertain the audience rather than with an educational aim.

Quite possibly this entertaining character of the lectures predominated in public perception and it represented the real draw for the audience to attend. When Leopold reported the start of the lecture series to Nannerl in May 1786, he called them an 'entertainment in experimental physics' and added that they 'are quite

²⁹⁴ See *SchidenhofenDiary*, 259.

²⁹⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 359; not in *Letters*.

²⁹⁶ *NannerlDiary*, 18.

²⁹⁷ *NannerlDiary*, 140.

²⁹⁸ For example for the years 1774 and 1776: Dominikus Beck, *Kurzer Entwurf von der Experimental-Physik* (Salzburg, Hof- und akademische Buchdruckerey, 1774) [D-Mbs, 4 Diss. 3736,10]; Dominikus Beck, *Kurzer Entwurf von der Experimental-Physik* (Salzburg, Hof- und akademische Waisenhausbuchdruckerey, 1776) [D-Mu, 0001/4 Phys. 560].

²⁹⁹ See Dominikus Beck, *Kurzer Entwurf von der Experimental-Physik* (Salzburg, 1776).

beautiful this year – here read it and post it back again’.³⁰⁰ Apparently, Leopold enclosed a printed overview of the lecture series for her to read.

Leopold had a great penchant for geology and natural history and he regularly visited natural history collections on his travels. For example, when visiting the palace of prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine in Brussels, he admired not only the artefacts and rarities described above, but also a room ‘which is filled with an indescribable quantity of all kinds of natural history rarities’.³⁰¹ Leopold emphasised that he ‘saw many such collections of natural history specimens’, but rarely such an elaborate collection.³⁰² In London, the family visited the British Museum and while Leopold does not mention the museum in his letters, Nannerl’s diary records details of what they saw:

British mauseum, in which I saw the library, antiquities, birds of all sorts, fish, insects and fruits; [furthermore] a particular kind of bird called a *basson*, a rattlesnake, a veil made out of bark and hair made out of the fibres of bark; Chinese shoes, a model of the Grave of Jerusalem, all kinds of things that grow in the sea, stones, Indian balsam, terrestrial and celestial globes and all sorts of other things.³⁰³

According to Leopold, the *Istituto delle Scienze*, which he and Wolfgang visited in Bologna, even ‘surpasses the Museum Britannicum, because here not only rarities of nature are exhibited, but everything that comes under the heading of science can be seen’.³⁰⁴ A couple of months later in Naples, it was not a visit to a collection or a museum but a present from the banker Frédéric Robert Meuricoffre, which sparked Leopold’s enthusiasm. Meuricoffre gave him ‘a fine collection of Vesuvius lava’ and Leopold, displaying his connoisseurship, added that it was ‘not the kind of Lava that anyone can easily get hold of, but choice pieces with a description of the minerals that they contain and that are rare and hard to come by’.³⁰⁵

Leopold also owned some highly expensive optical instruments: at his death, the estate included an ordinary microscope, a ‘*Sonnenmikroskop*’, a microscope, which

³⁰⁰ *Briefe*, iii, 542; not in *Letters*.

³⁰¹ *Briefe*, i, 107; *Letters*, 30.

³⁰² *Briefe*, i, 107; *Letters*, 30.

³⁰³ ‘british mauseum, in welchen ich gesehen habe biblideck, antiquadik, von allen Sorten vögel, fisch, ungezifer und fruchten; ein besonderer Vogel genannt basson, eine Klapperschlang, ein schleyer von baumrinde und harr von den gefrantz von baumrinde; kinesische schuh, ein modell von den grab Jerusalem; allerhand Sachen, die in meer wachst, steiner, indischen baisam, die Weltkugel und himmelskugel und allerhand andere Sachen.’ *Briefe*, i, 199; not in *Letters*.

³⁰⁴ *Briefe*, i, 328; *Letters*, 124.

³⁰⁵ *Briefe*, i, 359; *Letters*, 144.

relies on sunlight as its luminous source, and also a telescope.³⁰⁶ All three instruments were made by John Dollond in London. It remains open to speculation whether Leopold bought these instruments during his stay in London in 1764–5. As seen above, Leopold was not a singular exception for owning such optical instruments in Salzburg. Count Zeil and Schidenhofen also owned telescopes and microscopes. Still, they clearly were something special among Leopold's household goods, because the advertisement in the *Salzburger Intelligenzblatt*, which announced the public auction of Leopold's estate, singled out these items in addition to the double manual harpsichord by Friederici.³⁰⁷

Two striking celestial phenomena are described in detail in Leopold's letters. In December 1777 polar lights heralded the approach of 'the most terrible cold weather'.³⁰⁸ According to Leopold, the sky in Salzburg made people think that the whole of the neighbouring town Laufen had burst into flames. In the morning of 1 April 1764 a solar eclipse occurred in Paris, while the Mozarts were in town.³⁰⁹ In a letter to Hagenauer Leopold described with considerable amusement the frantic preparations by the inhabitants of the city, which he thought to be 'void of any superstition'.³¹⁰ On the one hand, everyone wanted to see the spectacle and thus people purchased darkened eyeglasses, which were offered for sale throughout the city. At the same time, many people were scared that the darkness might poison the air or induce the plague and that darkness would reign in Paris 'for entire three hours'.³¹¹ All this was 'plebeian superstition',³¹² which stood in contrast to the enlightened rational explanations of modern experimental physics. Using the word 'superstition', which usually defines an aberration from Christian faith, Leopold implied that the natural sciences actually helped to establish true Christian faith. Just as the contemporary 'enlightened monks' of the Benedictine order, Leopold believed in the compatibility of enlightened science and Catholic faith, or even in the advancement of true faith through the sciences.

³⁰⁶ See *Dokumente*, 261-2; *Documentary Biography*, 296-7.

³⁰⁷ See *Dokumente*, 261-2; *Documentary Biography*, 296-7.

³⁰⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 184; not in *Letters*.

³⁰⁹ See also Geneviève Geffray, "'Die Narren sind halt aller Orten nicht gescheid'" Leopold Mozart und die Sonnenfinsternis in Paris, anno 1764', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, xlvii/3-4 (1999), 19-23.

³¹⁰ *Briefe*, i, 137; not in *Letters*.

³¹¹ *Briefe*, i, 138; not in *Letters*.

³¹² *Briefe*, i, 138; not in *Letters*.

2.3 Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* and Enlightenment



Figure 2: Majuscle (*Violinschule*, 20).

Clear rays of bright light emanate from the central star. The letter 'E' in the middle of the star symbolises *Erkenntnis*, knowledge and cognition at once, which in the terms of the German Enlightenment would lead mankind out of darkness into a bright future. The star hovers above a garlanded pedestal as a reference to classical antiquity, on which this new age of knowledge is based. The two trees framing the star might well point to the biblical trees of knowledge and of life. Everything, even original sin, could be solved, if man used his own understanding and intellect in the Kantian sense: *sapere aude!*

This illuminated majuscle (Figure 2) adorns the opening of the first chapter of Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*.³¹³ It stands at the beginning of the work proper, after the preface and the introductory sketch of music history, and it is a visual manifestation of Leopold's aspirations and of the context, in which Leopold wants to place his work. Although the first edition of the work is modestly titled *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, an 'attempt' at a violin treatise,³¹⁴ the scope of Leopold's book reaches far beyond a mere instruction on music and on the technical aspects of violin playing. As Josef Mancal notes, Leopold 'consciously conceived the work as a whole on at least two different levels':³¹⁵ one level is the specific musical and violinistic content, the other is a larger philosophical level, which uses music to discuss issues of Enlightenment. Leopold's aim is to 'ignite the light' within the realm of violin playing, but at the same time he considers his work to be part of the greater struggle to spread knowledge and cognition within society at large.

³¹³ See *Violinschule*, 20.

³¹⁴ The second edition dropped the *Versuch* in the title. See Leopold Mozart, *Gründliche Violinschule*, 2nd edition (Augsburg, Lotter, 1769/70).

³¹⁵ Mancal, 'Einführung in die historisch-methodische Grundproblematik', 81.

Mancal also pointed to Leopold's use of the metaphor of light throughout the book.³¹⁶ Leopold calls the era, in which he lives, 'such enlightened times' and describes his hesitation to venture 'into daylight' with his violin school, as he considers his attempt not worthy of his times.³¹⁷ The phrase '*ein Licht anzünden*', 'igniting light', recurs three times in the book. It appears in the preface, where Leopold declares that his book lays the foundations of the 'proper way of playing' the violin, but it does not aim to 'ignite the light' for a proficient, yet tasteless violin player.³¹⁸ Then, scientific research into the sounding properties of violins could 'ignite such a useful light' for instrument makers.³¹⁹ Finally, in the section on ornaments, Leopold hopes that his tables showing the *ribattuta*, *grosso*, *tirata* and other signs will abolish reigning confusion and 'ignite a little light' for the proper execution of these ornaments, because 'it is disconsolate to play haphazardly and without knowing what one is doing'.³²⁰ The metaphor of light serves as the opposite of ignorance and the metaphor finds its visual representation in the majuscule shown above.

It is certainly no coincidence that this illustration blazing with light stands at the beginning of the first chapter of the *Violinschule* and not at the opening of the introduction. The two parts of the introduction present a short history of the violin and of music in general and Leopold himself concedes that 'nearly everything is based on doubtful foundations and indeed one finds more that is fabulous than that is probable'.³²¹ Leopold is fully aware that he presents many fabulous stories to his readers,³²² a fact for which North German critics indeed criticise him heavily, as described above.³²³ Yet, he believes in the inherent kernel of truth within these fables. Tellingly, a majuscule illustrated with a mythical creature heads the introductory chapter (Figure 3): Phoenix, the bird that cyclically dies in flames and arises newly born out of its ashes, symbolises the antiquity of the origins of music and its power of constant renewal.³²⁴

³¹⁶ Mancal, 'Einführung in die historisch-methodische Grundproblematik', 81.

³¹⁷ *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated].

³¹⁸ *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated].

³¹⁹ *Violinschule*, 7.

³²⁰ *Violinschule*, 245.

³²¹ *Violinschule*, 10.

³²² See *Violinschule*, 15.

³²³ See Chapter 2.2.1 for more details on the critical reaction to this historical abstract.

³²⁴ See *Violinschule*, 1.



Figure 3: Majusculæ (*Violinschule*, 1).

It is only with the beginning of the first chapter proper of the *Violinschule* that the reader finally leaves the realm of fables and mythology and finds himself on the firm grounds of enlightened cognition: the bright star of true *Erkenntnis* has risen.

This focus on cognition and on reason is only one side of the *Violinschule*. Leopold's treatise frequently appeals to sensual experience and 'nature' as guiding authority, too. In the following, I will first summarise rational and systematic aspects of the work before turning to the importance of experience and 'naturalness' within the treatise. I would then like to suggest that it is exactly this combination of these two approaches, this balance between reason and feeling, which makes Leopold's *Violinschule* a truly enlightened treatise.

Leopold's *Violinschule* is the subject of many musicological and philosophical studies and its rational and systematic character is often perceived as the defining feature and great achievement of the work.³²⁵ Indeed, the *Violinschule* follows a methodical and rational outline starting with the basic fundamentals: in the preface, Leopold first discusses the origins and the 'essence' of violins and other string instruments, before he turns to the genesis of music and inserts a short history of music. The work proper starts with an explanation of musical notation and only after these theoretical foundations are laid, the book proceeds to the practical aspects of holding the instrument and the bow. Leopold admonishes the teachers among his readers repeatedly, not to allow the pupil to progress to practical music making before 'the pupil well understood and memorised all that has been explained up to now [i. e. music history and musical notation]'.³²⁶

³²⁵ See Weiß, 'System und Methode'; Eugenia Angelucci, 'La forma della comunicazione nel sistema didattico della "Violinschule" di Leopold Mozart', *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, 107–45; or Broy, 'Die "gewisse gute Art" zu spielen'.

³²⁶ *Violinschule*, 53. Already at the outset of the first chapter, Leopold insists that 'it is necessary that a beginner should memorise not only this but also the following two chapters entirely, before the teacher gives the violin into his hands' (*Violinschule*, 20).

Leopold inserts another chapter on 'What the pupil has to observe, before he begins to play' after explaining the positioning of the violin and the bow hold. In this section, intervals and the rudiments of harmony are introduced to the student. Only after all this, bowing patterns and left hand positions are explained and finally the tasteful performance of melodies and the correct execution of ornaments come into focus. Thus the book proceeds from the all-encompassing to the specific, from the abstract reasoning on the origins of music to the practicalities of a performing musician in the eighteenth century, before the concluding chapter, titled 'On the correct reading of music and on good performance in general', returns to a more abstract matter again: good taste in musical performance.

The systematic overall structure is mirrored on the level of the individual chapters. Leopold regularly opens a chapter by charting an imaginary graph of its subject. For example, Leopold compartmentalises the chapter 'What the pupil has to observe, before he starts playing' into three categories: the key, the metre and the 'kind of movement' of the piece.³²⁷ He then splits the first subcategory even further: there are basically two different keys, minor and major, and each mode has six different species.³²⁸ Particularly rigorous is Leopold's treatment of the different bowing patterns in chapter 7 of the *Violinschule*: he lists 17 different bow strokes for a regular series of semiquavers in common time and another 34 versions to bow six quavers in triple metre.³²⁹

Leopold's own use of the words '*vernünftig*' and '*gründlich*', 'reasonable' and 'thorough', in the *Violinschule* proves the high value in which he holds these terms. 'Reasonable' is an universally applicable positive attribute: the 'reasonable soloist' is a performer, who plays according to the rules of good taste,³³⁰ the 'reasonable teacher' pays close attention to the correct posture of his pupil³³¹ and the 'reasonable and correct performance' of a piece has to be the main objective of a performer.³³²

Leopold's designation of the treatise as '*gründlich*', 'thorough', in the title is echoed within the book by the frequent use of the related noun '*Grund*', which literally means 'fundament'. His aim is to lay 'the fundament for a good playing style' with his book³³³ and he emphasises the importance of a rational understanding of the theoretical 'fundament' of violin playing, otherwise the

³²⁷ *Violinschule*, 59.

³²⁸ *Violinschule*, 59–60.

³²⁹ *Violinschule*, 122–34.

³³⁰ *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated].

³³¹ *Violinschule*, 56.

³³² *Violinschule*, 52.

³³³ *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated].

student 'would never make up leeway' and 'bar himself from reaching a complete mastery of the musical science'.³³⁴ Similarly, he cautions the teacher not to demonstrate the music examples in the book by playing them to the student, because then the student 'would only learn to play them by ear and not by the fundamentals of the rules'.³³⁵ In this reasoning, abstract rules and rational understanding provide a safe and stable fundament, whereas relying solely on the ear, on sensuous experience, is a dangerous endeavour.

The importance that Leopold attaches to a thorough rational theory, is most apparent in an instance in the *Violinschule*, where he laments the lack of such fundamentals. In Leopold's view the varying quality of violin instruments is due to the disparity of violin making standards: 'each [violin maker] determines the height, the diameter and so forth according to his visual judgement without the possibility to base [his work] on an adequate fundament'.³³⁶ Hence he wishes for a mathematician and a violinmaker to team up and to establish 'an accurate system, how the parts of a violin should relate to each other'.³³⁷

The systematic structure and the focus on reason and thoroughness certainly are strong features of the *Violinschule*, but the treatise is by no means a hermetically closed rational system. Ulrich Weiß and Thomas Irvine pointed out that Leopold's *Violinschule* frequently reverts to highly irrational concepts such as sensuous or biographical experience, sentiment or naturalness.³³⁸ This occurs mostly in an attempt to define the elusive concept of 'good taste'.

Leopold indicates from the outset that rational cognition and sensual experience belong together and he validates this approach by referring back to classical antiquity. In his short history of music he reports of a quarrel between Pythagoras and Aristotle, whether it is reasoning or hearing that governed music. According to Leopold, this question is solved by a compromise that cognition and the ear should both be equal judges.³³⁹ Even though Leopold regularly exhorts the student to avoid the habit of 'playing by ear',³⁴⁰ he appeals to the ear as authority in matters of

³³⁴ *Violinschule*, 21.

³³⁵ *Violinschule*, 90.

³³⁶ *Violinschule*, 7.

³³⁷ *Violinschule*, 8.

³³⁸ See Weiß, 'System und Methode'; or Thomas Irvine, 'Execution and Expression – Leopold and Wolfgang Amadé Mozart between System and Sensibility', *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, xiv (2006), 63–81.

³³⁹ See *Violinschule*, 16.

³⁴⁰ See e.g. *Violinschule*, 20, 30, 32 or 90.

intonation³⁴¹ and ornamentation.³⁴² Not just the ear but also personal experience, the subjective biography of the performer, can sometimes act as a guide for the musician in cases, where cognitive reasoning and rules do not yield any satisfactory answers. For example, only ‘a healthy judgement acquired by long experience’ can teach how to apply bowings, slurs and articulations, ‘in one word, everything that pertains to the tasteful performance of a piece’.³⁴³

The question of the right metre and the right movement of a piece is a particularly striking aspect, where Leopold appeals to rational cognition and biographical experience at once.³⁴⁴ This differentiation between metre and movement, between ‘*Tact*’ and ‘*Bewegung*’, goes back to Jean Rousseau, who distinguishes between ‘*mesure*’ and ‘*mouvement*’ in his singing treatise *Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique*, a work that Leopold knew.³⁴⁵ ‘Metre’ is a thoroughly rational matter of dividing time and Leopold Mozart calls it ‘the common mathematical division of a bar’.³⁴⁶ ‘Movement’, on the other hand, is an entirely subjective matter: this is the inner movement of the music, which mirrors the sentiment and the affective content of the piece. Leopold deems this to be ‘the main issue’³⁴⁷ in determining, how to perform a given piece of music. Yet, no rational system can help the student to ascertain this ‘main issue’ of a good performance. Even though the composer might try to explain the affective content by adding verbal performance directions to the piece, rational cognition ultimately fails in determining it and thus Leopold seeks assistance by appealing to ‘nature’:

Every melodious piece has at least one sentence, in which one can recognise the kind of movement, which is fitting for the piece, without doubt. Indeed, often a piece drives itself forcefully into its natural movement, if one takes extra care looking at it.³⁴⁸

³⁴¹ *Violinschule*, 67.

³⁴² *Violinschule*, 200–1.

³⁴³ *Violinschule*, 253.

³⁴⁴ See *Violinschule*, 30.

³⁴⁵ A detailed discussion of the distinction between ‘*mesure*’ and ‘*mouvement*’ can be found in Danuta Mirka, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (Oxford, 2014), 357–9. For Leopold’s knowledge of Rousseau’s treatise, see Chapter 3.1.2.

³⁴⁶ *Violinschule*, 30.

³⁴⁷ *Violinschule*, 30.

³⁴⁸ ‘Jedes melodische Stück hat wenigstens einen Satz, aus welchem man die Art der Bewegung, die das Stück erheischt, ganz sicher erkennen kann. Ja oft treibt es mit Gewalt in seine natürliche Bewegung; wenn man anders mit genauer Aufmerksamkeit darauf siehet.’ *Violinschule*, 30.

This appeal to 'nature' and 'naturalness' occurs far more frequently in the *Violinschule* than the 'thoroughness' and the systematic structure suggest at first glance. For example, Leopold states that a violin player 'should imitate nature in every aspect' of his playing and therefore strive for a singing tone.³⁴⁹ Singing, as Leopold explains in his prefatory 'short history of music', is a means of expression that God gave to Adam as part of his 'nature'.³⁵⁰ Consequently, a movement marked *Cantabile* should be played 'naturally and not with too much artificiality' and 'this is the most beautiful in music'.³⁵¹ Leopold also links specific musical details, such as appoggiaturas, to nature.³⁵² Likewise, the use of vibrato in singing or violin playing is grounded in nature: the vibrato has its origins in 'nature herself' and therefore 'nature herself is the teacher of this [embellishment]'.³⁵³

In the *Violinschule* the postulation of 'naturalness' goes beyond aesthetic matters and applies to questions of posture and bodily movement in violin playing, too. The first of two copper engravings, which show different ways of holding the violin, demonstrates a posture that 'looks without doubt unforced to the eyes of the observer'.³⁵⁴ Yet, this outwardly natural appearance does not match with the reality of the player, as the violin could easily slip when the left hand shifts position. Therefore, Leopold suggests a second, 'comfortable' way of holding the violin, as demonstrated on the second engraving.³⁵⁵ Once the student has mastered the basic violin hold, he should start practicing scales and learn to move the bowing arm 'naturally and effortlessly [...], without making ridiculous and unnatural twistings'.³⁵⁶

Vera Viehöver argues that this aesthetic concept of naturalness is owed to the influence of Leopold's penfriend Gellert.³⁵⁷ Yet, I would rather draw a connection to Charles Batteux, who is the most important exponent of this concept of aesthetic naturalness at the time and whose writings are well known and highly valued in Salzburg.³⁵⁸ In *Les beaux-arts réduits à un même principe* Batteux claims that all art can be reduced to one single principle, which is the imitation of nature. This theory sparks a lively debate in the German speaking countries, of which Leopold probably

³⁴⁹ *Violinschule*, 107–8.

³⁵⁰ *Violinschule*, 13.

³⁵¹ *Violinschule*, 50.

³⁵² *Violinschule*, 193.

³⁵³ *Violinschule*, 238.

³⁵⁴ *Violinschule*, 53. The engraving of figure 1 was bound in opposite the title page.

³⁵⁵ *Violinschule*, 53–4. The engraving of figure 2 was bound in opposite page 53.

³⁵⁶ *Violinschule*, 55.

³⁵⁷ Viehöver, 'Gellerts Spur in Leopold Mozarts Versuch'.

³⁵⁸ For the availability of several editions of Batteux's writings in Salzburg, see Chapter 1.2.

is aware. In 1751 the first German edition of Batteux's book translated by Phillip Ernst Bertram appears in Gotha and, a couple of years later, Johann Christoph Gottsched publishes excerpts from Batteux's book in German. It remains uncertain whether Leopold knows or even owns one of these versions of Batteux's work, but his friend and publisher Johann Jakob Lotter in Augsburg lists both translations of the work in his sales catalogue of 1757.³⁵⁹

Leopold almost certainly comes into contact with Batteux's theories via the first volume of Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*, the same journal that he cites in the introduction of the *Violinschule*. Several articles in Marpurg's magazine refer more or less openly to Batteux's aesthetic writings. Johann Gottfried Krause's review of Johann Adolph Scheibe's *Singspiel 'Thusnelde'*, which appeared in the second issue of Marpurg's periodical,³⁶⁰ is heavily influenced by Batteux.³⁶¹ In 1755 Marpurg prints three public letters, in which the Lübeck cantor Caspar Ruetz and the director of the *Gymnasium* of the city, Johann Daniel Overbeck, argue about the merits and shortcomings of Batteux's theories.³⁶² While Ruetz doubts Batteux's musical knowledge and criticises the constriction of music to the imitation of nature, Overbeck defends Batteux's viewpoint and clarifies an important aspect of Batteux's theory that eventually will be accepted widely in Europe: in imitating nature music is not confined to musical depiction of objects, animals or humans, but it has the particular power of depicting emotions and affects, which are beyond words.³⁶³

Johann Adam Hiller's essay *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik* is an emphatic defense of and elaboration on Batteux's theories with regards to music. First printed in another periodical, Marpurg includes the essay in the sixth issue of the *Beyträge* and thus Hiller's text reaches a far wider audience.³⁶⁴ The title of Hiller's essay is in itself a reference to Batteux and, just like Batteux, he stresses the central importance of affect and sentiment in music and the innate correlation between emotions and sounds.³⁶⁵ Hiller also draws a fundamental distinction

³⁵⁹ See Johann Jakob Lotter, *Universal-Catalogus aller Philosophisch- Historisch- Politisch-Moralisch- Physicalisch- und Mathematischen [...] Bücher* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1757), 12.

³⁶⁰ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, i, 93–141.

³⁶¹ As Laurenz Lütteken pointed out. See Laurenz Lütteken, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik zwischen 1760 und 1785* (Tübingen, 1998), 120.

³⁶² Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, i, 273–325.

³⁶³ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, i, 315.

³⁶⁴ Johann Adam Hiller, 'Abhandlung von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, i, 515–43. Hiller's essay first appeared in *Neue Erweiterungen der Erkenntnis und des Vergnügens*, iii (Leipzig, Lankisch, 1754), 140–68.

³⁶⁵ Hiller, 'Abhandlung von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', 521.

between reason and sentiment, between head and heart, which will be an important issue in the debate on the powers of music and of art in general for decades to come. While language and words engage the intellect and therefore will reach the heart only via the detour of the head, music could affect the heart and stir the emotions directly.³⁶⁶ This bipartite division of the human senses into higher and the lower faculties of the soul means that both faculties have to be developed and refined through education.³⁶⁷ According to Leopold Mozart's concluding statement in the *Violinschule* exactly this twofold education is the overarching aim of his treatise: 'All my endeavours, which I put into writing this book, are aimed at this: to lead the beginners on the right path and to prepare their cognition and their sentiment for good musical taste'.³⁶⁸

This dual emphasis on the rational, systematic cognition, on 'Erkenntnis' in the terms of German enlightenment, and on sentiment or 'Empfindung' makes the *Violinschule* a truly modern and enlightened work. Leopold integrates human experience, sentiment and nature within the highly systematic structure and clear rational reasoning of his treatise. Ulrich Weiß and Thomas Irvine both posited that the philosophical question at the centre of the *Violinschule* is this relationship between systematic learning and teaching and sensuous experience, between 'system and sensibility'.³⁶⁹ While Weiß sees this integration as a successful expansion of the rational system into a 'critically reflected systematical spirit',³⁷⁰ Irvine perceives an ultimate failure of the *Violinschule* to adhere to its systematical rational outline, because it was impossible to exclude human sensibility.³⁷¹ No matter if the *Violinschule* presents a successful system or a failed one, both authors coincide in their assessment that this combination of 'system and sensibility' is the great achievement of the work.

According to the philosopher Panagiotis Kondylis, exactly the question of balance between 'heart and mind' is at the core of Enlightenment thinking. He posits that 'the so-called Enlightenment is an attempt or rather multiple attempts to answer the question of the relationships between mind and sensuality'.³⁷² Kondylis

³⁶⁶ Hiller, 'Abhandlung von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik', 520-1.

³⁶⁷ See e.g. Johann August Eberhard, *Allgemeine Theorie des Denkens und Empfindens* (Berlin, Voß, 1776).

³⁶⁸ *Violinschule*, 264.

³⁶⁹ Weiß, 'System und Methode'; Irvine, 'Execution and Expression'.

³⁷⁰ Weiß, 'System und Methode', 99-103.

³⁷¹ Irvine, 'Execution and Expression', 63-4.

³⁷² Panagiotis Kondylis, *Die Aufklärung im Rahmen des neuzeitlichen Rationalismus* (Hamburg, 2002), 19. Also cited in Irvine, 'Execution and Expression', 63.

regards the balance between mind and sensuality, between subject and object, god and world, soul and body, as the central subject of western philosophy per se³⁷³ and he argues that this balance is particularly contested in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the period we call 'Enlightenment'.³⁷⁴ Seen this way, Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* is indeed a work that uses music to discuss the central issue of Enlightenment. In the *Violinschule* this balancing act between mind and sensuality manifests itself in the use of the words 'reason' and 'nature'.

The entry on 'reason' ('Vernunft') in Adelung's dictionary quotes a sentence from Gellert's *Moralische Vorlesungen* as an example for the correlation of 'nature' and 'reason': 'The character of connubial friendship is marked by nature in such a wise and careful manner that reason can easily perceive and cultivate it'.³⁷⁵ It is reason that lets the humans refine nature and thus transcend an animalistic state and, in terms of the musical discourse, it is reason and cognition that enables mankind to refine the innate aesthetic taste. Leopold sketches exactly this relationship between 'nature' and human 'reason' in his account of the origins of music: the ability of singing is innate to Adam and over the course of the millennia of human existence this natural ability is refined by reason.³⁷⁶ Thus, the rational system of the *Violinschule* is there to refine human nature, which remains the fundament of any music making. Small wonder then that it is nature teaching 'the highest degree of perfection in music', the ability to judge the inner movement of a piece, which demonstrates 'the true strength of a sensible musician'.³⁷⁷

³⁷³ Kondyles, *Die Aufklärung*, 9–10.

³⁷⁴ Kondyles, *Die Aufklärung*, 19–20.

³⁷⁵ 'Der Charakter der ehelichen Freundschaft ist von der Natur so weise und sorgfältig bezeichnet, daß ihn die Vernunft leicht wahrnehmen und ausbilden kann'. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, col.1101. The sentence originally appeared in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Moralische Vorlesungen*, ed. by Johann Adolf Schlegel, ii (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1770), 548.

³⁷⁶ *Violinschule*, 13.

³⁷⁷ *Violinschule*, 30.

Chapter 3 The Mozarts' Salzburg library and their literary knowledge

Music and intelligent books are Your Ladyship's occupation and entertainment. These are the same things that entertain myself.¹

The common enjoyment of music and literature constituted for Leopold Mozart the basis of his friendship with the Baroness von Waldstätten in Vienna, whom he never met. These shared interests reminded Leopold of Wieland's work *Sympathien*, in which Wieland glorified the Platonic ideal of a kinship of human souls. In the letter, Leopold continued to characterise his life in Salzburg, how he mostly confined himself to his home and only went to court, when he was obliged to do so. Living with his daughter Nannerl in quietness, Leopold listed 'reading, music and walking' as their daily entertainment.² In 1776, Leopold penned an Italian letter for Wolfgang addressed to Giovanni Battista Martini: in this letter, 'Wolfgang' reported to Martini how, after thirty-six years in service,³ his father fell into disfavour with the archbishop Colloredo due to his advanced age. Therefore, Leopold now devoted his heart and time entirely to literature, which was 'a favourite study of his'.⁴ Perhaps Leopold had more time to read books later in his life, but his lifelong engagement with literature is amply documented in his letters and in the *Violinschule*.

As mentioned at the outset of the present dissertation, reading books was always part of family life in the Mozarts' household. The bulk of letters exchanged between Leopold and Nannerl in the 1780s document Nannerl's keen interest in novels and drama. She repeatedly asked her father to send books out to St. Gilgen together with the newest music from her brother. When it comes to Wolfgang's literary interests, the letter written in Mannheim in 1777 is generally cited, in which Wolfgang declares that he 'always take[s] a book out of [his] pocket and read[s]'.⁵ Some other instances of Wolfgang reading a book are mentioned in the family correspondence: the teenage boy reads Fénelon's *Télémaque*⁶ and a version of the '*Arabian Nights*'⁷ in

¹ 'Musik und vernünftige Bücher sind Euer Hochgebohrn Gegenstand und Unterhaltung. Dieses ist auch dasjenige, was mich unterhält.' *Briefe*, iii, 228–9; *Letters*, 820.

² *Briefe*, iii, 229; *Letters*, 820–1.

³ Leopold slightly exaggerates his length of service, as he had only been officially appointed as fourth court violinist in 1743.

⁴ *Briefe*, i, 532; *Letters*, 266.

⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 199; *Letters*, 429.

⁶ See *Briefe*, i, 388; *Letters*, 160.

⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 372; not in *Letters*.

Italy in 1770 and in Paris in 1778 Wolfgang reads newspapers.⁸ Furthermore, Constanze told Vincent and Mary Novello that her husband was 'fond of reading and well acquainted with Shakespeare in the translation'.⁹

If literature was such a big part of the Mozarts' life, what were they reading? In 1991, Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin published a reconstruction of Wolfgang's Viennese library.¹⁰ A similarly detailed study on the Salzburg library of the Mozarts is as yet missing. Cliff Eisen gave an account of the Mozarts' music library in Salzburg¹¹ and the present chapter focuses on the books and publications beyond the sheet music in the Salzburg household. Previous studies on Leopold Mozart's literary interests and his library only give a cursory overview,¹² or they deal exclusively with the books that Leopold used in the process of writing the *Violinschule*.¹³

The content of Wolfgang's Viennese library is documented in the *Sperrs-Relation*, which is drawn up at a person's death detailing time and cause of the death and also listing his valuable belongings.¹⁴ Reconstructing the Mozarts' Salzburg library is a little more complicated. The *Sperrs-Relation* for Leopold's household is missing and only an incomplete copy of the report on the auction of his estate survives, the so-called *Licitations-Protocoll*.¹⁵ This copy of the *Licitations-Protocoll* lacks twenty pages in the middle and the first two pages after the gap list fifteen foreign-language books.¹⁶ In addition to the books in the *Licitations-Protocoll*, the main source of information regarding the Mozarts' Salzburg library is the family correspondence. Moreover, sixteen actual volumes from their possessions containing fifteen different publications survive today in archives and libraries mostly in Salzburg.

A personal library generally represents only a fraction of the books known to someone and, indeed, the family letters and the *Violinschule* in particular document

⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 410 & 441; *Letters*, 574 & 596.

⁹ Novello, *A Mozart pilgrimage*, 94. Cited in *Dokumente*, 462; *Documentary Biography*, 539.

¹⁰ Konrad/Staehelin.

¹¹ Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library'.

¹² Valentin, 'Was die Bücher anlangt'; or Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*, 30–52.

¹³ Irvine, 'Der belesene Kapellmeister'.

¹⁴ For a transcript and translation of the *Sperrs-Relation*, see *Dokumente*, 493–511; *Documentary Biography*, 583–604.

¹⁵ The copy of the *Licitations-Protocoll* is held at the Berchtold Family Archive in Brno, Czech Republic: *Brno, Moravský zemský Archiv (Moravian Provincial Archives)*. A transcript is published in *LM Licitations*.

¹⁶ See *LM Licitations*, 28–9. In all likelihood, the missing pages of the *Licitations-Protocoll* include a more substantial section on books and possibly also on sheet music.

a far greater knowledge of books. Some of these titles are likely to have been part of the family's Salzburg library, others they might have borrowed from friends in Salzburg or read during their travels at other people's homes, and some works might have only been known to them by their titles. I include these books in the following, thus presenting a survey of the Mozarts' literary knowledge, as well as a reconstruction of their Salzburg library sorted according to subject areas. I also include a couple of titles from Wolfgang's Viennese estate, which I assume to have been part of the family's Salzburg library. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that Leopold systematically used and had access to the libraries at the court, at the university and at St. Peter, when writing his violin treatise. For a large number of titles, which Leopold cites specifically by giving chapters or page numbers as references, a copy in the exact edition used by Leopold could be located in one of the three collections.¹⁷

3.1 Music books

3.1.1 Music books owned by the Mozarts

In the preface to the *Violinschule* Leopold Mozart describes how he harboured the thought of publishing a violin treatise for a long time, but he did not venture to give his manuscript into print, until 'finally I was randomly given Herr Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*'.¹⁸ At the beginning of the *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* Marpurg lamented the lack of a thorough violin treatise.¹⁹ That this course of events might not just be a polite reference on Leopold's part to the most important music critic of his time, is suggested in Leopold's letter to Meinrad Spieß from September 1755: again, Leopold mentioned Marpurg's preface to the *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* as decisive motivation to give the *Violinschule* into print.²⁰ If this scenario is correct, Leopold got to know the *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* very soon after the first issue appeared in 1754.

While we can assume that the Mozarts owned all four volumes of Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, no documentation was known so far. However, as part of my research at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*, it was possible to retrieve two

¹⁷ A complete list of books, which the Mozarts owned, including bibliographical details is given in Appendix H. A complete list of books, which the Mozarts knew, is given in Appendix I.

¹⁸ *Violinschule*, preface unpaginated [page 2 of *Vorbericht* on my count].

¹⁹ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, i, page V.

²⁰ See *Briefe*, viii, 48–9; not in *Letters*.

volumes of Marpurg's periodical, volume 2 and 3, from Leopold Mozart's estate in the collection of the library: both volumes carry Leopold Mozart's ownership signature on the cover page (see Figure 4).²¹



Figure 4: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, ii & iii (Berlin, Lange, 1756-7), title pages [A-Su, R 160038 I/2, 3].

The relationship between Leopold and Marpurg is marked by mutual esteem, even though they probably never met in person. Marpurg's high opinion of Leopold is apparent in the fact that he addressed the opening letter of his new music periodical *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* to Leopold, who in his opinion was a 'person of merit, insight and taste'.²² During those years, Leopold and Marpurg possibly had direct contact by letter: in 1757, a detailed report on the set-up and personnel of the court music in Salzburg was published in the *Historisch-Kritische*

²¹ The two volumes from the Mozarts' library at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* carry now the shelfmarks [A-Su, R 160038 I/2] and [A-Su, R 160038 I/3]. Volume 4, which is catalogued under the same basic shelfmark [A-Su, R 160038 I/4], probably did not belong to the Mozarts, as there is no ownership signature and the volume has a different cover and binding.

²² Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, i, 2.

Beyträge, which, in all likelihood, was written by Leopold.²³ Marpurg also included an extended announcement of the publication of *Der Morgen und der Abend* in his periodical in 1759.²⁴ While the *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* informed the Mozarts about a huge range of theoretical literature and sheet music, only eight titles of music literature can be securely documented as part of their Salzburg library, in addition to a Dutch and a French edition of the *Violinschule*.

The Mozarts owned copies of Georg Joseph Vogler's *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst* and his *Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule*. In 1778 Leopold reported to Wolfgang that 'a book by Vogler has been announced that the government of Palatine has prescribed for the use by all masters of the country for teaching keyboard, singing and composition'.²⁵ Such a comprehensive book on music education was apparently close to Leopold's heart and he immediately ordered a copy of the book. Furthermore, he recommended it sight unseen to Wolfgang, as it would be helpful for his teaching.²⁶ Perhaps, Leopold knew about the brand-new book from the announcement of Vogler's work placed in the *Rheinische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit*, a journal from Mannheim. The announcement was split across two consecutive issues of the journal, the first part published on 1 May 1778 and the second a month later, and it included a summary of the structure of Vogler's work.²⁷ Writing to Wolfgang on 11 June 1778, Leopold knew the rough outline of the book without having seen it yet.²⁸

Leopold's enthusiasm for Vogler's work stands in contrast to Wolfgang's low opinion about the author and his previous publication, *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst*. Writing from Mannheim in November 1777, Wolfgang reports that

I have just read [Vogler's *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst*], as I borrowed it from Cannabich [...]. [Vogler] is a fool, who imagines that he is the very pitch of perfection. The whole orchestra from top to bottom dislikes him. [...] His book is more useful for teaching arithmetic than for teaching composition.²⁹

²³ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iii, 183–98. An English translation of this account can be found in Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies - Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), 550–7.

²⁴ See Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iv, 403–5.

²⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 548.

²⁶ See *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 549.

²⁷ *Rheinische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit*, i/8 (May 1778), 166–8 & i/9 (June 1778), 234–5. Possibly, this advertisement was reprinted in other journals.

²⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 548–9.

²⁹ 'ich habe es ietzt gelesen, denn ich habe es von Canabich entlihen [...]. [Vogler] ist ein Narr, der sich einbildet, daß nichts besseres und vollkommerens seye als er. das ganze orchestre von oben bis unten mag ihn nicht. [...] sein buch dienet mehr zum Rechnen=lernen, als zum Componiren lehrnen.' *Briefe*, ii, 119–20; *Letters*, 369–70.

This scathing attack on Vogler is just one, albeit a particularly extensive one, among many in Wolfgang's letters.³⁰ Never mind the strong aversion of his son, Leopold was still keen to obtain a copy of Vogler's *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst* and instructed his son to buy the book.³¹ On 9 July 1778, Wolfgang actually promised to send Leopold 'Vogler's book (*Ton=wissenschaft und Ton=sezkunst*)' together with his new symphony (K297), the French translation of the *Violinschule* and some piano music, 'if a good occasion arises'.³² While Konrad and Staehelin assume in their account of Wolfgang's library that Wolfgang bought Vogler's book by July 1778,³³ I hesitate to take Wolfgang's promise at face value. Wolfgang wrote the letter in question less than a week after the shock of the passing of his mother in Paris. In an attempt to placate his father, Wolfgang remembered all the requests, which his father expressed during the preceding months,³⁴ and promised to fulfil them. Eleven days later Wolfgang repeated his promise to send Vogler's book and expanded the list of items: apart from the sonatas which he was about to give into print (K301–6) and Leopold's violin school, Wolfgang wanted to send 'Vogler's composition treatise, [Nicolas-Joseph] Hüllmandel's sonatas, [Johann Samuel] Schrötter's concertos, some of my own sonatas for keyboard solo, the symphony of the concert spirituell [K297], the sinfonia concertante [K279b], and 2 quartets for flute [K285a, K285b], and a concert for harp and flute [K299]'.³⁵ It remains unclear, if or when Wolfgang actually fulfilled any part of this pledge, but after finally being told the exact title of Vogler's book,³⁶ Leopold instructed his son not to post it because 'we get it here [in Salzburg]'.³⁷ Later in his life Leopold's esteem for Vogler waned drastically: in a letter written to Nannerl in 1785, Leopold now called Vogler 'a fool', who probably was drunk when improvising keyboard fantasies inspired by pictures in the Mannheim gallery.³⁸ He added the gossip of Vogler's stay in Kassel, where he was found drunk in the sullied bed of the lady of the house. Possibly, this

³⁰ For other attacks on Vogler, see e.g. *Briefe*, ii, 101–2, 135 & 197; *Letters*, 356, 378 & 428.

³¹ See *Briefe*, ii, 220; *Letters*, 442.

³² *Briefe*, ii, 398; *Letters*, 565.

³³ Konrad/Staehelin, 122.

³⁴ In particular, see *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 548. Leopold requests the French translation of the *Violinschule*, some melodious piano pieces for his pupils and, if available, some new music by Wolfgang.

³⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 410; *Letters*, 573–4.

³⁶ On 5 January 1778 Leopold asked Wolfgang about the exact title of Vogler's book (*Briefe*, ii, 220; *Letters*, 442) and only on 9 July 1778 Wolfgang finally specified the title (*Briefe*, ii, 398; *Letters*, 565) – another one of Leopold's requests he remembered to fulfil after Maria Anna's death.

³⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 435; *Letters*, 592.

³⁸ See *Briefe*, iii, 452; not in *Letters*.

change of mind came about after reading Vogler's books and thus reflects Leopold's opinion on Vogler's writings, but more likely this aversion was due to Leopold's and Wolfgang's shared perception that Vogler was the greatest obstacle when Wolfgang tried to obtain a position at court in Mannheim.³⁹

The Mozarts owned copies of three more composition treatises written by Johann Joseph Fux, Joseph Riepel and Meinrad Spiess. According to Leopold's own inscription inside the book, he bought Fux's standard work on counterpoint *Gradus ad parnassum* in 1746. The copy from the Mozarts' household with Leopold's ownership signature is extant at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.⁴⁰ Fux's treatise gets mentioned once in the family correspondence: in 1773 Leopold asked his wife, if a certain 'H[err] Kliebnstein' returned two books, which Leopold lent him, 'namely the Fux in Latin and the Riepl in German'.⁴¹

The other book that Leopold lent Mr. Kliebnstein was Riepel's *Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst*. It remains unclear how many parts of Riepel's work the Mozarts had in their library: Riepel's *Anfangsgründe* consists of ten 'chapters', which in fact are entire volumes each. The first five chapters were published between 1752 and 1768, two more followed posthumously in 1786 and the remaining three chapters never got into print and survive only in manuscript copies.⁴² By 1773, the year of Leopold's letter, the Mozarts could have owned parts one to five. Interestingly, Riepel's name does not appear in a long list of men, 'who by their writings on music earned great credit in the learned world', in the first edition of Leopold's *Violinschule* in 1756.⁴³ In one of the few amendments for the second edition of the treatise published in 1769 Riepel's name is added to this list.⁴⁴ Possibly, Leopold came into contact with Riepel's work via his friend Lotter, who printed volumes 1 and 2 and issued as publisher the volumes 4 and 5 of Riepel's treatise.⁴⁵

Possibly, Leopold knew the Benedictine monk Meinrad Spiess from Irsee personally. They exchanged letters in the 1750s and one letter by Leopold from 1755

³⁹ See *Briefe*, ii, 194; *Letters*, 425.

⁴⁰ Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad parnassum* (Vienna, van Ghelen, 1725) [A-Sm, RaraLit 36]. For an image of the titlepage and the ownership inscription, see *DeutschBilder*, 31.

⁴¹ *Briefe*, i, 501; not in *Letters*. It has not been possible to identify 'Herr Kliebnstein'.

⁴² For a complete edition of Joseph Riepel's theoretical writings, see Joseph Riepel, *Sämtliche Schriften zur Musiktheorie*, ed. Thomas Emmerig, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1996).

⁴³ *Violinschule*, 17.

⁴⁴ See Mozart, *Gründliche Violinschule*, 2nd edition, 17.

⁴⁵ See Hans Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter in Augsburg (ca. 1719 – 1845)* (Tutzing, 1977), 140, 147, 179–80 & 185.

is extant, but Leopold mentions another letter to Spiess from three years before.⁴⁶ Spiess's composition treatise *Tractatus musicus* was published by Lotter in 1746. In the 1950s the Austrian conductor and composer Viktor Keldorfer owned Leopold's copy of Spiess's treatise, but the whereabouts of this volume today are unknown.⁴⁷ Merely a photograph of a short manuscript excerpt in Leopold's hand, in which he copies out a section on church modes from Spiess's book, survives at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.⁴⁸

Friedrich Melchior von Grimm's little pamphlet against French opera and in favour of Italian opera, *Le petit prophète de Boehmischbrod*, might be a present by the author given to the Mozarts during their stay in Paris in 1765, when they grew friends with Grimm. Evidence that the Mozarts owned the book exists only because Leopold lent it to a colleague at the *Hofkapelle*, the oboist Christoph Burg.⁴⁹

In 1770 during Leopold's and Wolfgang's first trip to Italy, Leopold complained about their luggage getting increasingly bulky, 'in particular, the books and music are continuing to grow vis[ibly] and causing me a great deal of trouble'.⁵⁰ Presumably, there were many music books among this growing pile, but only two volumes of Giovanni Battista Martini's *Storia della musica* are mentioned explicitly in the correspondence.⁵¹

Another musical treatise which was probably part of their luggage in 1770 is Giovenale Sacchi's work *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia*, published in Milan in 1770. Perhaps Leopold and Wolfgang met Sacchi personally during their stay in Milan in 1770–1, where Sacchi was professor at the *Collegio dei Nobili*. The actual copy from the Mozarts' library with an autograph ownership signature by Leopold is now at the *Euing Collection* of the University of Glasgow Library.⁵² Leopold continued to be interested in the contemporary literary discourse

⁴⁶ *Briefe*, viii, 48–9; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁷ This is documented in a letter by Viktor Keldorfer addressed to Ernst Fritz Schmid, dated 2 March 1957, now deposited at the archive of the ISM. I am grateful to Miriam Pfadt of the ISM, who made this letter available to me.

⁴⁸ For a digital reproduction of this document, see *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – Online-Edition*, ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg:

<<http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=331>> [accessed 5 May 2015]. I am grateful to Dr. Anja Morgenstern of the ISM, who brought this document to my attention.

⁴⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 261; not in *Letters*.

⁵⁰ *Briefe*, i, 384; *Letters*, 157–8. Cited after Eisen, *In Mozart's Words*, Letter 205.

⁵¹ See *Briefe*, i, 394; *Letters*, 164.

⁵² Giovenale Sacchi, *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia* (Milan, Mazzucchelli, 1770) [GB-Ge, Sp Coll F.c.26]. Joseph Heinz Eibl thought the book belonged to Wolfgang's Viennese library, but Konrad and Staehelin identified the ownership signature as Leopold's hand. See Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Mozart – Die Dokumente seines Lebens : Addenda und Corrigenda* (Kassel, 1980), 111; and Konrad/Staehelin, 22.

on music in his old days and in August 1781 he pre-ordered a copy of Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* from Breitkopf.⁵³

Expectably, the Mozarts also owned copies of the French and the Dutch translation of the *Violinschule*. The Dutch translation was published in Haarlem in 1766 under the title *Grondig onderwys in het behandelen der viool*. A copy of it is listed in the *Licitations-Protocoll* of Leopold's belongings.⁵⁴ This might be the copy which was presented to Leopold fresh off the press in Haarlem in 1766. In a letter he proudly announced to Hagenauer:

I will have the honour of showing you my violin school in the Dutch language. This book these Dutch gentlemen translated and produced in the same format as the original. [...] The edition is an uncommonly fine one, even finer than my own.⁵⁵

Valentin Roeser published the French translation of the *Violinschule* in Paris in 1770 under the title *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon*, apparently without Leopold's prior knowledge. Wolfgang came across the book, when he went into a music shop in Paris in 1778 with the intention to buy a set of sonatas by Schobert for a piano pupil of his.⁵⁶ Leopold thereupon asked him to bring a copy back to Salzburg, 'for, as I have the Dutch translation, I should like to have the French one too'.⁵⁷ As in the case of Vogler's treatise, it is uncertain whether Wolfgang fulfilled this request or if Leopold acquired a copy another way. In any case, a copy of the French version of the *Violinschule* appears in the *Licitations-Protocoll*.⁵⁸

3.1.2 Music books known to the Mozarts

The Mozarts' ownership of all the titles discussed above is securely verifiable, but these books represent only a fraction of the musical literature that the Mozarts knew. In particular, the *Violinschule* proves Leopold's knowledge of an astounding range of literature – from ancient music theory to the newest publications of his time. For some of the titles, we can assume that he owned them, others were

⁵³ *Briefe*, iii, 149; not in *Letters*.

⁵⁴ *LM Licitation*, 29.

⁵⁵ 'Ich werde die Ehre haben ihnen meine Violin Schule in Holländischer Sprache vorzulegen. Dieß Buch haben die H:H: Holländer in dem nämlichen format [...] in das Holländische übersetzt [...]. Die Edition ist ungemein schön, und noch schöner als meine eigene.' *Briefe*, i, 219–20; *Letters*, 64–5.

⁵⁶ See *Briefe*, ii, 368; *Letters*, 544.

⁵⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 548.

⁵⁸ *LM Licitation*, 29.

available to him during the writing process, because he cites specific passages and gives detailed references including page numbers. In many cases, copies of these books can be documented as part of the libraries at St. Peter, the university or the court, sometimes in the exact edition, which Leopold specifies in the *Violinschule*. Thus, it seems that Leopold had access to these libraries and consulted them during the writing of his treatise in particular for the older writings from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

For other books cited in the *Violinschule* Leopold only knew the author and the title. A case in point is Andreas Christian Eschenbach's *Orphei argonautica*, a collection of writings allegedly authored by Orpheus. In the historical introduction, Leopold states that 'the latest edition [of Orpheus's writings] is said to have been published at Utrecht 1689 by Andr[ea]s Christ[ian] Eschenbach with erudite annotations'.⁵⁹ A work on Greek music theory that Leopold himself used is Marcus Meibom's *Antiquae musicae auctores septem* published in Amsterdam in 1652.⁶⁰ In this work Meibom translated some actual theoretical texts from classical Greek writers into Latin and added a commentary.

Apart from these ancient Greek texts and the alleged writings by the legendary musician father Orpheus, the earliest musical writings that Leopold mentions in his treatise are two works by the Renaissance theorist Franchinus Gaffurius. Leopold cites chapter 8 of book 1 of Gaffurius's *Theoria musicae* as reference for the thesis that Pythagoras invented musical pitch and he also specifies the first edition of the work published in Milan in 1492.⁶¹ Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* serves Leopold as source for his explanation of the musical notation used in ancient Greece.⁶² While no copy of the *Theoria musicae* with a Salzburg provenance from the eighteenth century could be found, the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* holds a copy of Gaffurius's *Practica musicae* in an edition printed in Venice in 1512, which originally belonged to the archabbey St. Peter.⁶³ Leopold's reference to 'book 2, chapter 2' of the treatise for an explanation of ancient music notation does match the layout of this edition.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Violinschule*, 15.

⁶⁰ *Violinschule*, 17. Leopold specifies this particular edition.

⁶¹ *Violinschule*, 11.

⁶² *Violinschule*, 21.

⁶³ Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Venice, Zannis, 1512) [A-Su, F II 475]. The leather cover of the volume is stamped with a rosette and a banner, which identify the book as part of the library of St. Peter and which feature on book covers bound between 1481 and 1526 (see stamp number 170 and number 241 in: Peter Wind, *Die verzierten Einbände der Handschriften der Erzabtei St. Peter zu Salzburg bis 1600* (Vienna, 1982), 22, 27, 70 & 77).

⁶⁴ *Violinschule*, 21. Though the earlier editions published in Milan 1496 and Brixen 1502 have the same layout. Leopold does not specify an edition.

Leopold draws on a wide range of music theory writings from the sixteenth century. He refers to Giovanni Maria Artusi's *L'arte del contraponto*, Johannes Frosch's *Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insigne* and Heinrich Glarean's *Dodekachordon* as 'the ancient writings'.⁶⁵ He seems to be well acquainted with all three works because of the specific nature of his references including chapter and page numbers.⁶⁶

According to the page numbers that Leopold gives for Artusi's *L'arte del contraponto*, he was working with the first edition of Artusi's work.⁶⁷ For Glarean's work Leopold himself specifies the edition published by Heinrich Petri in Basel in 1547.⁶⁸ A copy of this particular edition was and still is part of the library at St. Peter.⁶⁹ Similarly, a copy of Frosch's *Rerum musicarum* published in 1535 was part of the archiepiscopal court library: the volume is now at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* and the spine of the binding displays a shelfmark from the old court library.⁷⁰ Leopold's references to chapters of the work in the *Violinschule* match with this edition.

Leopold also refers to the seminal encyclopaedia of Medieval thought, *Margarita philosophica*, in the *Violinschule*.⁷¹ Although not a music treatise as such, Leopold cites book five of the work '*De principiis musicae*', in his quest to elucidate the etymology of the word '*Musik*'. The *Margarita philosophica* was mostly written by Gregor Reisch and Leopold specifies the edition printed in Basel in 1508. A copy of this exact edition is extant at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*: signed by a certain 'Johannes Fischer', it came into the university library before the eighteenth century.⁷²

Leopold knew Gioseffo Zarlino's musical writings from a posthumous edition of Zarlino's works published as *Institutioni et dimostrationi di musica* by Franceschi in Venice in 1602. Leopold's detailed references to chapters of the book prove that he

⁶⁵ *Violinschule*, 28.

⁶⁶ For references to Artusi see pages 17, 21 & 28, to Frosch see pages 17 & 28, to Glarean see pages 17, 19, 21, 22, 23 & 28 of *Violinschule*.

⁶⁷ Giovanni Maria Artusi, *L'arte del contraponto* (Venice, Vincenti, 1598).

⁶⁸ *Violinschule*, 19.

⁶⁹ Glarean, Heinrich. *Dodekachordon* (Basel, Petri, 1547) [A-Ssp, FD 1 F 1].

⁷⁰ Johannes Frosch, *Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insigne* (Strassbourg, Schöffner, 1535) [A-Su, F II 359]. I am grateful to Mag. Beatrix Koll, director of the Special Collections at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*, for her help in identifying the provenance of this volume.

⁷¹ *Violinschule*, 10.

⁷² Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica : cum additionibus novis* (Basel, Furterius, 1508) [A-Su, F I 212]. I am grateful to Mag. Beatrix Koll for her help in identifying the provenance of this volume.

used this particular edition.⁷³ The library of St. Peter holds a copy of this rare edition, which belonged to the court organist Carl van der Hoeven, who served at the Salzburg court from 1609 until 1661.⁷⁴

A list of 'men, who earned outstanding credit [...] by their writings on music' names several music theorists from the sixteenth and seventeenth century: Giovanni Andrea Bontempi, Vincenzo Galilei, Athanasius Kircher, Wolfgang Caspar Printz, Andreas Werckmeister and the astronomer Johannes Kepler.⁷⁵ In the case of Bontempi, Galilei, Kircher, Printz and Werckmeister several works relating to music come into question, which Leopold might know, and thus naming specific titles would be mere speculation. When including Kepler's name in this list of musical writers, Leopold probably thought of Kepler's *Harmonices mundi*, which link the creation of the world with musical harmonies as music and the spheres are based on intelligible mathematical proportions.

There are two seventeenth-century treatises that Leopold cites more specifically in the course of the *Violinschule*: Jean Rousseau's *Methode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique*⁷⁶ and Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum*.⁷⁷ Possibly, Leopold used a copy of Praetorius's book at the university, which is still in their collections today.⁷⁸ The edition matches Leopold's specific page reference ('T[omo] I p[agina] 38'), which he cites when discussing the possible Hebrew root of the word 'Musik'.⁷⁹

Jean-Antoine Bérard, Leonhard Euler, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Johann Mattheson, Lorenz Christoph Mizler, Johann Georg Neidhardt, Johann Joachim Quantz, Johann Adolph Scheibe, Meinrad Spiess, Mauritius Vogt and Zaccaria Tevo are the eighteenth-century authors Leopold considers worthy to be included in the list of erudite music theorists.⁸⁰ As above, some of these theorists authored several books and thus the specific title, which Leopold referred to, cannot be identified. This applies to Mattheson, Neidhardt and Scheibe, as all three were prolific writers.

Bérard, Euler, Spiess and Vogt published only one work each dealing specifically with music: Bérard's *L'art du chant* is a singing treatise, Euler's *Tentamen novae*

⁷³ For references to Zarlino see *Violinschule*, 13, 16, 17, 21 & 27.

⁷⁴ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Institutioni et dimostrationi di musica* (Venice, Franceschi, 1602) [A-Ssp, 2023].

⁷⁵ *Violinschule*, 17.

⁷⁶ *Violinschule*, 257.

⁷⁷ *Violinschule*, 11.

⁷⁸ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, 3 vols. (Wittenberg, [i] Richter / [ii-iii] Holwein, 1614–20) [A-Su, 39677 I].

⁷⁹ *Violinschule*, 11.

⁸⁰ See *Violinschule*, 17.

theoriae musicae is a mathematical demonstration of the rules of consonance and dissonance, Spiess's *Tractatus musicus* was part of the Mozarts' library as detailed above and Vogt's *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* provides a general compendium to music theory. If Leopold indeed knew the published version of Bérard's singing treatise, he heard of or got hold of the book immediately after its publication in Paris in 1755.⁸¹

The letter by Leopold to Spiess cited above also documents that Leopold knew Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*: Leopold confesses to Spiess that he doubts his *Violinschule* would live up to Marpurg's expectation of a violin school 'in the same taste, as H[err] Bach wrote for the clavier, and H[err] Quantz for the flute'.⁸² Curiously, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's name is missing from the list of musical authors in Leopold's *Violinschule*, but perhaps he considered the *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* to be a practical treatise.

In the first edition of the *Violinschule*, Lorenz Christoph Mizler appears merely by name, but the second edition of Leopold's treatise includes a specific reference to Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek*, where one can find out more on the history and the rules of ancient and of modern music.⁸³ The same footnote in the second edition mentions also Marpurg's *Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik*.⁸⁴ The inclusion of Marpurg's work, which was published in 1759, in the second edition of the *Violinschule* shows how Leopold stayed abreast of new publications on music theory and history and that he updated the second edition of the *Violinschule* accordingly.

Clearly, Zaccaria Tevo's *Il musico testore* was readily at hand, when Leopold wrote the introduction of the *Violinschule*. Leopold repeatedly cites specific chapters and pages of Tevo's work⁸⁵ and in his short history of music he quotes an entire sentence on the invention of the violin and the bow from *Il musico testore*.⁸⁶

Regarding the intricacies of tuning and musical temperament, Leopold points his readers to the writings of four music theorists: Georg Heinrich Bümmler, Conrad Henfling, Werckmeister and Neidhardt.⁸⁷ Neidhardt published several books on the subject of tuning and temperament. The other authors only published one work

⁸¹ Leopold knew the book by November 1755. See *Briefe*, i, 19; not in *Letters*.

⁸² *Briefe*, viii, 48; not in *Letters*.

⁸³ Mozart, *Gründliche Violinschule*, 2nd edition, 17.

⁸⁴ Mozart, *Gründliche Violinschule*, 2nd edition, 17.

⁸⁵ *Violinschule*, 10, 11, 13 & 14.

⁸⁶ *Violinschule*, 19. Quoted after Zaccaria Tevo, *Il musico testore* (Venice, Bortoli, 1706), 11.

⁸⁷ See *Violinschule*, 47.

each that was devoted to issues of tuning, thus we can safely assume these titles to be the ones Leopold meant.

Bümler's *Neueste Temperatur* is a short instruction on tuning, which appeared in 1722 in the first German music periodical, Johann Mattheson's *Critica musica*.⁸⁸ The mathematician Conrad Henfling wrote down meticulous calculations for a musical temperament, which were slightly amended and then published by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz as 'Epistola de novo suo systemate musico' in the *Miscellanea berolinensia*, the main journal of the Prussian academy of science.⁸⁹ Referring to Werckmeister in this context, Leopold probably thinks of the one work by this author dealing exclusively with tuning and temperament, Werckmeister's *Musicalische Temperatur*.

Leopold regards all the writings listed above as 'theoretical writings' on music and, if his readers needed advice on practical music tutors, he recommends consulting Sébastien de Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique* or Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon*.⁹⁰

Apart from the *Violinschule* our information on Leopold's knowledge of books on music theory comes mainly from the one letter mentioned above, in which he tells Wolfgang about Vogler's *Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule*. Leopold suggests that for his book Vogler

could copy the clavier method from Bach's book, the outlines of a singing method from Tosi and Agricola, and rules for composition and harmony from Fux, Riepl, Marpurg, Mattheson, Spiess, Scheibe, d'Alembert, Rameau and a host of others, and then boil them down into a shorter system.⁹¹

Most of these authors appear in the *Violinschule*, too. In addition, the letter confirms that Leopold considered Bach's *Versuch* to be the definitive treatise for clavier playing. As cited above, Leopold mentioned Bach's treatise also in a letter to

⁸⁸ Georg Heinrich Bümler, 'Neueste Temperatur', *Critica musica*, ed. Johann Mattheson, i (Hamburg, Wiering, 1722), 52–3.

⁸⁹ Conrad Henfling, 'Epistola de novo suo systemate musico', *Miscellanea Berolinensia*, ed. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (Berlin, Papen, 1710), 265–94. A German translation of Henfling's treatise is published by Werner Schulze, *Musiktheorie*, ii (1987), 169–81, and iii (1988), 171–81. For a summary of Henfling's theory and Leibniz's involvement in the publication process, see Ulrich Leisinger, *Leibniz-Reflexe in der deutschen Musiktheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1994), 33–9.

⁹⁰ See *Violinschule*, 17.

⁹¹ 'die Clavier Methode konnte [Vogler] aus Bachs Buche, – die Anweisung zur Singmethode aus Tosi und agricola_und die anweisung zur Composition und Harmonie, aus Fux, Riepl, Marpurg, Matheson, Spies, Scheibe, d'alembert, Rameau und einer menge anderer herausschreiben und in ein Kürzeres Systema bringen.' *Briefe*, ii, 374; *Letters*, 548–9.

Spiess in 1755:⁹² at that point only part one of Bach's *Versuch* was published. It remains unclear whether in 1778 Leopold also knew the second part of Bach's treatise on the proper accompaniment and the free fantasia, published in 1762.

Johann Friedrich Agricola's translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's singing treatise appeared in Berlin in 1757, just after the first edition of Leopold's *Violinschule*. In 1778, this was the definitive singing treatise that sprang to Leopold's mind, when thinking about possible sources that Vogler could draw on.

Two French authors on music also turn up in this letter, which Leopold did not mention in the *Violinschule*: Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Jean-Philippe Rameau. It is unclear which of the many writings by Rameau Leopold was thinking of. In d'Alembert's case, it is likely to be the only book on music authored by him, the *Elémens de musique théorique et pratique*. Perhaps Leopold knew the German translation of d'Alembert's work by Marpurg, which Breitkopf published in 1757 under the title *Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst*.

3.2 Educational literature

The educational books in the family's library can give us a glimpse into the education of the Mozart children and they show how the children were accustomed to reading books from an early age. The Mozarts owned a history and a geography book for children by Anselm Desing, whose lectures Leopold followed as student at university. The actual copies of both of these works from the Mozarts' household are extant in Salzburg, one at the library of the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*,⁹³ the other at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*.⁹⁴

Desing's history book *Kürtziste Einlaltung zu Erlernung der allgemeinen Histori* is written in the traditional question-answer format that was common for European educational books since centuries. The work deals not only with biblical and ecclesiastical history, but also has parts devoted to political and social history (*historia politica*), natural history (*historia naturalis*), the history of ideas and science (*historia litteraria*), and the history of the arts and crafts (*historia technica*).

Desing's introduction to geography for children, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie vor junge Leuthe*, follows the same organisational structure of questions and answers.

⁹² *Briefe*, viii, 48; not in *Letters*.

⁹³ Anselm Desing, *Kürtziste Einlaltung zu Erlernung der allgemeinen Histori* (Munich, Gastl, 1756) [A-Sm, RaraLit 36].

⁹⁴ Anselm Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie vor junge Leuthe* (Salzburg, Mayr, 1750) [A-Su, R 71124 I].

The book starts with an explanation of general terms, such as 'city' and 'country' or 'king' and 'duke'. It then gives a short introduction on measuring the earth and reading maps. A description of the different European countries follows, before the focus moves to regions beyond Europe: Turkey and Asia, Africa and finally America. Each account of a country contains facts and figures, such as the local religion, important towns, ruling dynasties and number and wealth of the inhabitants. In addition it sketches national characteristics in behaviour, manners, looks and morals. Thus the English are described as owing 'much black bile', hence without fear, as pensive, and apt for the arts, 'among which they love in particular the tragedy, the astronomy, mechanics, chemistry and physics'.⁹⁵ They are said to be beautiful and lethargic and their worst streak is a 'mind of uproar' and a deep depression, which accounts for the high percentage of suicides and the frequent beheading of the kings.⁹⁶ Also, the 'cruel confusion of religion' in England and the poor state of education are criticised,⁹⁷ two facts which Leopold also mentioned when writing from London in 1765. Leopold told his landlord Hagenauer about a certain 'proposition' that was made to him, probably an offer for a more permanent employment in the city. Yet, 'after careful consideration and after several sleepless nights', Leopold declined this proposition

as I will not bring up my children in such a dangerous place (where the majority of the inhabitants have no religion and where one only has evil examples before one). You would be amazed if you saw the way children are brought up here; not to mention other matters connected with religion.⁹⁸

In 1768, Leopold wrote to their landlord Hagenauer from Vienna that 'my wife asks you to demand the first volume of the *Kinder-Magazin* back from Herr Schachtner with our compliments'.⁹⁹ Although not entirely unequivocal, I assume the *Kinder-Magazin* to be the German translation of Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont's most successful educational book *Magasin des enfants*. Johann Joachim Schwabe published the translation in 1759 under the title *Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder zu richtiger Bildung ihres Verstandes und Herzens*. It was hugely successful in the German speaking countries, too, and by 1768 three German editions were

⁹⁵ Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie*, 111.

⁹⁶ Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie*, 111.

⁹⁷ Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie*, 111.

⁹⁸ 'da ich meine Kinder an keinem so gefährlichen Orte (wo der meiste theil der Menschen gar keine Religion hat, und wo man nichts als böse Beyspiele vor Augen hat) erziehen will. Sollten sie die Kinder Zucht hier sehen, sie würden erstaunen. Von übrigen Religions Sachen ist gar nichts zu sprechen.' *Briefe*, i, 180-1; *Letters*, 56.

⁹⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 261; not in *Letters*.

issued. Leprince de Beaumont's writings were also very popular in eighteenth-century Salzburg: the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* holds several of her books in French and in German translations, which demonstrably have a Salzburg provenance since the eighteenth century. As mentioned above, the Mozarts' close friend Maria Barbara Anna von Mölk owned two sequels to the *Magasin des enfants*: the *Magasin des adolescentes* and the *Magasin des jeunes dames*.¹⁰⁰

Yet, my identification of the 'Kinder-Magazin' is not solely based on the popularity of this book even in the immediate environment of the Mozarts, but also on the fact that Leopold generally is quite faithful in stating book titles in his letters. Apart from the *Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder* by Leprince de Beaumont, there is no other publication with the words 'Kinder' and 'Magazin' in the title, which appeared before 1768.¹⁰¹

While Desing's books were written in an older tradition and purely tried to convey knowledge to the children, the *Magazin für Kinder* followed a more modern educational ideal, to 'inform the mind as well as the hearts'.¹⁰² The translator Schwabe claims in his preface that the work 'seeks to provide amusement to the children, and at the same time to better their heart and to enlighten their intellect'.¹⁰³

It is curious that Leopold, who wrote the letter, specified that his wife wanted to have the book returned. This opens the speculation, whether Maria Anna was particularly fond of the moral value of the stories and in how far it was her, who was responsible for this side of the education of their children. It remains open, how many of the four volumes of the work the Mozarts owned, as the letter only speaks of the first part. Nannerl still valued the *Magazin für Kinder* in her later years and she asked for the work to be sent to St. Gilgen in 1786.¹⁰⁴ Presumably, she used it in the education of her older stepchildren, who at that point were between 9 and 14 years old.

François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon was an author whom Leopold was particularly fond of. In May 1766 Leopold reported to Hagenauer, how the family paid tribute to the writer on their Western European tour:

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 1.1.4.

¹⁰¹ Neither my own extensive search in library catalogues provided any results, nor does the comprehensive bibliography of children books by Heinz Wegehaupt and Edith Fichtner list such a title apart from Leprince de Beaumont's work. See Heinz Wegehaupt and Edith Fichtner, *Alte deutsche Kinderbücher*, 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1985–2003).

¹⁰² Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder zu richtiger Bildung ihres Verstandes und Herzens*, trans. Johann Joachim Schwabe, i (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1759), titlepage.

¹⁰³ Leprince de Beaumont, *Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder*, i, page IV.

¹⁰⁴ See *Briefe*, iii, 526; not in *Letters*.

In Cambrai [we visited] the tomb of the great Fénelon and his marble bust. He has made himself immortal by his *Telemach*, his book on the education of girls, his dialogues of the dead, his fables, and other sacred and secular works.¹⁰⁵

Among the works of Fénelon Leopold lists first and foremost the didactic novel *Les aventures de Télémaque*, of which the Mozarts probably owned an edition. At the very least, the book was well known in the family. Travelling through Italy in 1770, Wolfgang told his sister in a postscript that he was reading Fénelon's *Télémaque*, clearly assuming his sister to know the work.¹⁰⁶ Erich Valentin speculates that Wolfgang read an Italian translation of the didactic novel,¹⁰⁷ but Wolfgang gives the title of the novel in its German form '*Telemach*', which incidentally Leopold also uses in his letter to Hagenauer. Fénelon's story was exceedingly popular in eighteenth-century Europe and several German translations appeared before 1770.¹⁰⁸ Another letter from the same journey records that Wolfgang was able to read a simple Italian book at the time: apparently, their 'landlady in Rome gave me the Arabian Nights [*Tausend und eine Nacht*] in Italian; it's great fun to read'.¹⁰⁹

In his letter from Cambrai, Leopold listed two more titles by Fénelon in German translations: *Die Erziehung der Töchter* was the title of an anonymous translation of Fénelon's *De l'éducation des filles*, which was first published in Lübeck in 1735. Fénelon's *Dialogues des morts* was published in German as *Gespräche der Todten alter und neuer Zeiten* in 1745. This German edition included 'some fables for the education of a prince' by the same author,¹¹⁰ emphasising the didactic nature of the book as a whole.

Leopold mentioned an entirely different kind of educational literature in a letter to Hagenauer in 1763: he cites a passage from the Latin grammar *De institutione grammatica libri tres oder Rudimenta grammaticae latinae* by the Portuguese Jesuit

¹⁰⁵ 'In Cambray [haben wir] das Grabmahl des grossen Fenelons, und seine marmorne Brustbild-Säule betrachtet, der sich durch seinen Telemach, durch das Buch von der Erziehung der Töchter, durch seine Gespräche der Todten, seine Fabeln und andere geistliche und weltliche Schriften unsterblich gemacht hat.' *Briefe*, i, 220; *Letters*, 65.

¹⁰⁶ See *Briefe*, i, 388; *Letters*, 160.

¹⁰⁷ See Erich Valentin, 'Zu Mozarts Fénelon-Lektüre', *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht im Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Hans Zingerle (Innsbruck, 1956), 21–4.

¹⁰⁸ The first German translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque* was made by Benjamin Neukirch. François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *Die Begebenheiten des Prinzen von Ithaca, Oder: Der seinen Vater Ulysses, suchende Telemach*, trans. Benjamin Neukirch, 3 vols. (Onolzbach, Lüders, 1727–39).

¹⁰⁹ *Briefe*, i, 372; *Letters*, 150. Cited after Eisen, *In Mozart's Words*, Letter 199. Though the authenticity of this postscript is not beyond doubt. See Konrad/Staehelin, 116–7.

¹¹⁰ François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *Gespräche der Todten alter und neuer Zeiten*, i (Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1745), title page.

Manuel Alvares.¹¹¹ This was the standard Latin grammar used in Jesuit schools throughout Europe for several centuries. In his letter Leopold jokingly called Alvares's work 'the bible of the *Rudimentisten* [i.e. the pupils of the lowest form in grammar school]'.¹¹² Either Leopold still remembered the quoted sentence '*credibile est veteres, latro ceu praesul et hospes*' verbatim from his school days or he used the book in the education of his children and actually took the book with him on the journey through Europe. Alvares's book underwent countless editions and revisions during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and not all of them include the quoted sentence, but if they do, the sentence always stands towards the beginning of the chapter on the gender of nouns.¹¹³

Wolfgang's Viennese library included a geography book for children which probably was in the possession of the family since the 1760s. The *Atlas des enfans, ou Méthode nouvelle, courte, facile et démonstrative, pour apprendre la géographie* was published in Amsterdam in 1760. It is written in French and quite possibly the Mozart family acquired it or it was presented to them during their Western European tour in the 1760s. It seems unlikely that Wolfgang should buy this particular children's book later on in his life. If he was looking for a geography book for his own son Carl Thomas in Vienna around 1790, another Viennese or at least German publication would seem a far more sensible choice than this Amsterdam publication from 1760.¹¹⁴

3.3 Travel literature

Travelling made up an important part of the Mozart family's life: during the 1760s and 1770s the family toured through Western Europe from 1763–6, Leopold and Wolfgang travelled to Italy three times between 1769 and 1773 and Maria Anna and Wolfgang journeyed through Germany to Paris 1777–9. Expectably, they made use of guide books for the planning and execution of the travels and quite a few of these books got mentioned in the family letters.

When they came to Paris for the first time in November 1763, Leopold felt incapable to give Hagenauer an accurate report of his impressions of the city,

¹¹¹ See *Briefe*, i, 84; not in *Letters*.

¹¹² *Briefe*, i, 84; not in *Letters*.

¹¹³ See e.g. Manuel Alvares, *Principia seu rudimenta grammatices* (Augsburg, Wolff, 1744), 103.

¹¹⁴ For more information, see Ulrich Konrad, 'Der *Atlas des enfans* (Amsterdam 1760) in der Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts', *Acta Mozartiana*, lv/1-2 (July, 2008), 17–36.

because 'neither the hide of a cow nor that of a rhinoceros would suffice'.¹¹⁵ Instead, Leopold suggested to Hagenauer that he should buy himself

for forty-five kreutzer Johann Peter Willebrandt's [...] *Historische Berichte und Practische Anmerkungen auf Reisen etc.* Frankfurt and Leipzig 1761. It will give you plenty of amusement.¹¹⁶

Because Leopold knew the exact price and also faithfully quoted the full title of the book including place and year of publication, I assume that he bought Willebrandt's *Historische Berichte und practische Anmerkungen auf Reisen* himself in Salzburg in preparation for the journey and carried it with him.

Similarly, Leopold referred his wife three times in his letters from Italy in 1770 to Johann Georg Keyssler's travel guide *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen*. On all three occasions, the references are strikingly precise and therefore I assume that he had the book at hand when writing the letters from Italy.

Keyssler's book is a travelogue that contains a mixture of vivid descriptions of places and people, learned essays and real or made-up 'personal adventures'. Written in fictitious letters, Keyssler reports on the landscape and the nature of his destinations, as well as on the political and economic history. To this he adds detailed accounts of artefacts and famous sights including historical and scientific information on them. Keyssler intersperses these serious and practical sections of his guide book with entertaining stories on remarkable incidents and people.¹¹⁷

On 7 January 1770, Leopold invited his wife to take a look at Keyssler's description of the gallery and the garden of Conte Francesco Giusti del Giardino, whom Leopold and Wolfgang visited twice during their stay in Verona.¹¹⁸ If Maria Anna and Nannerl followed Leopold's advice, they learnt that the duke was 'a great connoisseur in medals' and that he had 'remarkable antiquities, in addition to a collection of fine paintings' at his palace.¹¹⁹ The description of Conte Giusti's garden remarks on the avenue of cypress trees, 'which exceed a hundred feet in height and

¹¹⁵ *Briefe*, i, 114; *Letters*, 32.

¹¹⁶ 'Kauffen sie sich um 45 kr: Johann Peter Willebrandt [...] *Historische Berichte und Practische Anmerkungen auf Reisen etc.* Franckfurt und Leipzig 1761. Sie werden vieles Vergnügen haben.' *Briefe*, i, 114; *Letters*, 32.

¹¹⁷ For more information on Keyssler's travelogue, see Winfried Siebers, *Johann Georg Keyßler und die Reisebeschreibung der Frühaufklärung* (Würzburg, 2009).

¹¹⁸ *Briefe*, i, 299; *Letters*, 103.

¹¹⁹ Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen*, ii, 1021.

are above two hundred years old', and it mentions a labyrinth, the exceptionally fine prospect of the city from the garden and a grotto with fascinating acoustics.¹²⁰

A few days later Leopold referred Maria Anna to the detailed account of the Veronese amphitheatre in Keyssler's book, so that she could 'travel in her imagination' with him and Wolfgang through Italy.¹²¹ In Rome, Leopold was so overwhelmed by the sights of the city that he declared it to be 'impossible, to describe [the city] in only a few words', and, in order to save him from this fruitless attempt, he advised his wife 'once again to read Kaysler's account of his travels'.¹²²

Travel literature obviously served a dual purpose in the Mozarts' household: on the one hand, Leopold made use of the books in his meticulous planning of the journeys, on the other, they allowed members of the family or friends staying behind in Salzburg to envisage the impressions of the travellers.

On the same journey, Leopold also announced in a letter that he would 'be bringing back [...] a book on the antiquities of Verona'.¹²³ Until now, the exact title of this book was based on speculation: Alberto Basso assumes in his detailed study of the Italian journeys of Leopold and Wolfgang, *I Mozart in Italia*, that this book is Scipione Maffei's *Museum Veronense*, published in Verona in 1749.¹²⁴ However, during my own research in the collections of the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* another book from Leopold's estate came to light, which according to its title purports to be a historical account of the bishops and governors of Verona, but the book includes several descriptions and plates of Veronese antiquities. Giovanni Battista Giuseppe Biancolini's work *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona* was published in Verona in 1757 and the signature on the title page marks the volume as a book belonging to Leopold Mozart (see Figure 5).¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen*, ii, 1032.

¹²¹ Keyssler's book includes a detailed description of the history and of the building and an engraving of the theatre. See Keyssler, *Neueste Reisen*, ii, 1021–4.

¹²² *Briefe*, i, 335; *Letters*, 127.

¹²³ *Briefe*, i, 303; *Letters*, 106.

¹²⁴ Scipione Maffei, *Museum Veronense* (Verona, Seminarii, 1749). See Alberto Basso, *I Mozart in Italia* (Rome, 2006), 173–4.

¹²⁵ Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona* (Verona, Ramanzini, 1757) [A-Su, R 11988 II].



Figure 5: Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona* (Verona, Ramanzini, 1757), title page [A-Su, R 11988 II]

Biancolini was born in Verona in 1697 into a reputable family of merchants.¹²⁶ He went to school in his hometown and then studied humanities and rhetoric at the local university. Upon his father's death he took over the merchant business, but he continued to cultivate his scientific interests and in particular his broad historical research. All of Biancolini's publications concern the history of his hometown Verona:¹²⁷ between 1745 and 1749 he published Pietro Zagata's handwritten history of the city from 1457 in two volumes. Biancolini annotated and expanded Zagata's chronicle and added a supplemental third volume.¹²⁸ This work provoked an

¹²⁶ The biographical information on Giovanni Battista Biancolini is based on Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, ii/2 (Brescia, Bossini, 1760), 1193–6; and on the entry 'Biancolini, Giambatista' by Armando Petrucci in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, x (Roma, 1968), 243–4.

¹²⁷ For a list of works by Biancolini, see Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, ii/2, 1194–6.

¹²⁸ Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Cronica della città di Verona descritta da Pier Zagata, ampliata, e supplita da Giambatista Biancolini*, 2 vols. (Verona, Ramanzini, 1745–7); and Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Supplementi alla cronica di Pier Zagata* (Verona, Ramanzini, 1749).

outrage among the literary society of Biancolini's days, accusing him of being unlettered, and it even sparked a pamphlet, which demanded that merchants and noblemen should be barred from general studies and literature.¹²⁹ Unperturbed, Biancolini continued to publish eight volumes of 'notices on the history of Veronese churches',¹³⁰ an essay on the bodily relics of the martyrs Saint Firmus and Saint Rusticus¹³¹ and the work that the Mozarts owned, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*.

Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona is structured in two sections, called 'dissertations': the first dissertation is a chronological listing of the bishops in the city. It starts with Saint Euprepus, who according to legend was the first bishop of the town appointed by Saint Peter in the first century, and leads via the first documented historical figure on the bishop's see, Saint Zeno of Verona, who lived around 360, to the present age of the author. The rigour of Biancolini's historical research is visible in the fact that he gives specific dates for Saint Zeno of Verona and, from the year 799 onwards, the exact year for each newly elected bishop, whereas religious history often was satisfied with mythical stories. The amount of information, which Biancolini details for the bishops, varies greatly, but in general it includes the year of election, significant events and details about important decrees during the tenure. If the bishop is beatified or canonised, Biancolini also tells the reader, where the relics of the saint can be found.

It is probably the second part, or second dissertation, of the book that Leopold refers to as a book 'on the antiquities of Verona'. It starts with a hand-coloured drawing of the antique city of Verona (see Figure 6) and a detailed map of the city as it was in 1757 (see Figure 7).

¹²⁹ See the entry 'Biancolini, Giambatista' by Armando Petrucci in *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, vi (Roma, 1930), 243.

¹³⁰ Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, 7 vols. (Verona, Scolari, 1749–71).

¹³¹ Giovanni Battista Biancolini, *Dissertazione seconda sopra la esistenza e identità de' Sacri Corpi de' SS Martiri Fermo, e Rustico in Verona* (Trento, Laturner, 1754). This work is titled 'second dissertation', as it is a reply on an attack by Cajetan Moroni on a first discussion of this subject in the second volume of Biancolini's *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*. See Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, ii (1749), 448–58.



Figure 6: Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, map bound in between pages 54 and 55 [A-Su, R 11988 II].

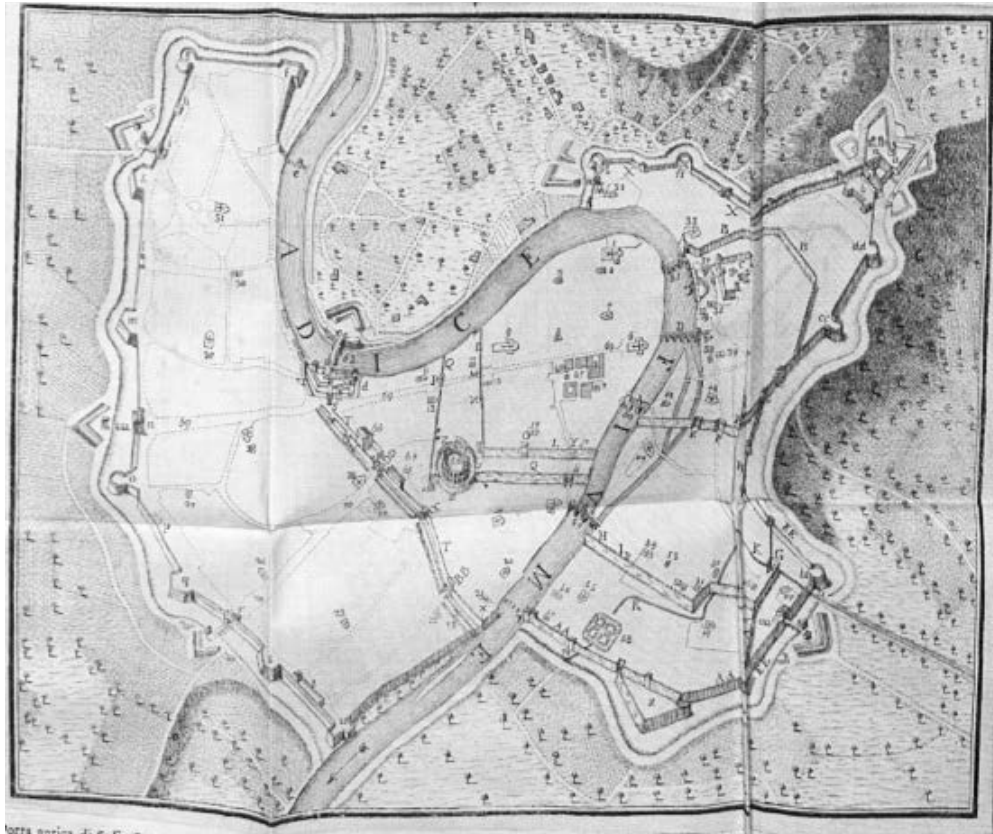


Figure 7: Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, map bound in between pages 56 and 57 [A-Su, R 11988 II].

Both, the drawing and the map, are carefully annotated and marked with figures and letters locating antique monuments, churches and other significant buildings, squares and streets of the town. The following text provides explanations about the history, the function and the design of the marked places and buildings. For some outstanding monuments of the city Biancolini adds separate structural drawings and engravings of details. Thus the book features a table with the layout, front and side view of the *Arco dei Gavi*, which was built during the first century by a noble Roman family called Gavia.¹³² Even more detailed is the plan for the so-called *Porta Leoni*, which dates back to the first century BC: aside from the front and rear prospect of the gate, details of the different columns and their capitals are shown together with ornaments of the walls and the structure of the arching.¹³³

It is not documented whether Leopold and Wolfgang visited these two antique arcs during their stay in Verona, but they certainly went to see the famous

¹³² Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, 60.

¹³³ Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, 85.

amphitheatre.¹³⁴ Biancolini's book includes a particularly in-depth account of this main attraction of the town: three plates with engravings are devoted to the modern theatre¹³⁵ and one plate sketches the outline of the precursory antique theatre and pictures its remains.¹³⁶ The history of the theatre and constructional details of the building are discussed in the book, thus giving the reader a clear idea of the fascination of the monument. This second dissertation of Biancolini's book concludes with a collection of transcripts of historical documents, which Biancolini found in archives and in antique publications on the city.

Biancolini's book certainly appealed to Leopold's own historical interests, but he probably also acquired the volume in order to bring it back to Salzburg and to show it to the two women of the family. Maria Anna and Nannerl would have loved to join in the journey to Italy, but Leopold left them behind in Salzburg for practical and financial reasons.¹³⁷ Through such travel books and the engravings that Leopold bought on the trip,¹³⁸ the ladies could at least get a visual impression of the sights, which Leopold and Wolfgang encountered during their first Italian journey.

Possibly, Leopold bought Giovanni Battista Albrizzi's *Forestier illuminato della città Venezia* for exactly the same reason, when he and Wolfgang stayed in Venice for some weeks early in 1771. Albrizzi's book is only documented among Wolfgang's estate in Vienna in 1791,¹³⁹ but it is commonly presumed that the volume stems from the Mozarts' Salzburg library.¹⁴⁰ If this book was indeed among the ever-growing pile of books and music that Leopold mentions burdening their luggage on that trip,¹⁴¹ then it would have been a great souvenir to show to Maria Anna and Nannerl and to illustrate their travel narration once back home in Salzburg. Instead of giving a detailed account of Venice in his letter, Leopold promised an oral report:

¹³⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 300 & 303; *Letters*, 104 & 106.

¹³⁵ Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, 66, 74 & 80.

¹³⁶ Biancolini, *Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona*, 86.

¹³⁷ Leopold repeatedly defends his decision to leave the ladies behind in his letters: a trip for all four of them would be too costly and the weather circumstances too harsh for them. See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 307-8; *Letters*, 108-9; or *Briefe*, i, 335; *Letters*, 127.

¹³⁸ See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 352; *Letters*, 139. Or *Briefe*, i, 369; not in *Letters*. For more details on prints, which Leopold brought back from Italy, see Angermüller and Ramsauer, 'du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen läßt, schöne Sachen sehen'.

¹³⁹ See *Dokumente*, 497; *Documentary Biography*, 588.

¹⁴⁰ See e.g. *Dokumente*, 509; *Documentary Biography*, 601; or Konrad/Staehelin, 36-8.

¹⁴¹ See *Briefe*, i, 384; *Letters*, 157-8.

How I like the Arsenal, the churches, the ospedali and other things, in fact how I like Venice as a whole, I will tell you in detail. Meanwhile I shall content myself with saying that beautiful and unusual things are to be seen here.¹⁴²

Leopold referred to two more city guide books in a letter from London in November 1764. He quotes several statistical figures about the city, in order to give Hagenauer an idea of the vast dimensions of the city and its populace. Most of the figures which Leopold cites accord with figures given in William Maitland's *The History and Survey of London*.¹⁴³ Yet, Leopold claims to have taken the figures from a 'description of London, which appeared already in its seventh edition in 1750'¹⁴⁴ and this specification does not match with Maitland's work, which was first published in 1739 and appeared in its third edition in 1760. Thus Leopold probably uses one of the many other surveys of London, which draw on the figures from Maitland's work. Leopold also mentions in this letter a little booklet, 'which is two fingers in thickness and in which all merchants are listed alphabetically including their addresses'.¹⁴⁵ This booklet may be the *Complete Guide to all Persons who have any Trade or Concern with the City of London*, which is reprinted several times between 1740 and 1764.¹⁴⁶

3.4 Books on history and politics

All travel books and the educational geography books mentioned above demonstrate that one of the most important aspects of learning about foreign countries and people was considered to be their history. Historical descriptions take up considerable space in Keyssler's and Willebrand's travelogues. Leopold's particular personal interest in history certainly added to this focus on historical accounts within the travel literature in the Mozarts' library: by their nature Biancolini's and Albrizzi's works could equally be classified as historical books rather than as travel literature.¹⁴⁷

Conversely, the title of Johann Michael von Loen's periodical *Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisegeschichten* might mislead one to think this is a travelogue,

¹⁴² 'Wie mir das Arsenal, die Kirchen, ospitali und andere Sachen etc: ja wie mir ganz Venedig gefahlen, werde dir weitläufigt sagen. Entzwischen kann dir sagen, daß schöne und besondere Sachen hier zu sehen sind.' *Briefe*, i, 421; *Letters*, 184.

¹⁴³ As the commentary to *Briefe* has already noted, see *Briefe*, v, 123.

¹⁴⁴ *Briefe*, i, 171; not in *Letters*.

¹⁴⁵ *Briefe*, i, 171; not in *Letters*.

¹⁴⁶ See commentary to the letter in *Briefe*, v, 123.

¹⁴⁷ I included them in the section of travel books, because the acquisition of the books was linked to their travels.

whereas the aim of the periodical was to give historical, geographical and political accounts for all countries and people of the world. The first issue of the *Reisegeschichten* was published in 1749. The periodical continued to appear beyond Loen's death in 1776 with the last volume being issued in 1781.

We have no record whether Leopold actually owned this journal or subscribed to it, but at the time of writing the *Violinschule* Leopold apparently knew and valued it. In the chapter on the 'origins of music' Leopold quotes two extended passages from the first and the second volume of Loen's *Reisegeschichten*, which he calls 'a totally new and precious book'.¹⁴⁸ The first quoted passage explores the nature of an instrument the ancients called *Cinyra*, a wooden lyre with ten strings that was plucked with a quill.¹⁴⁹ The second quotation deals with the question, if the 'trombones, trumpets, harps, psalteries, lutes and all kinds of string instruments', which are mentioned by the prophet David in the Old Testament, denote the same instruments as in Mozart's days.¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that Leopold not only cites the main text of the original, but he faithfully copies all of Loen's footnotes, too. Therefore references given in the footnotes might not accurately reflect Leopold's knowledge of or even his deliberate inclusion of the mentioned writings.

A case in point is the footnote on page 12 of the *Violinschule*, inviting the reader to 'read what Calmet has remarked in his *Commentaire sur les pseumes* on the music of the ancients'.¹⁵¹ The *Commentaire sur les psaumes* is part of Calmet's magisterial edition of the Bible with a detailed scholarly commentary.¹⁵² Unlike many other footnotes in the *Violinschule*, this reference to Calmet's work does not detail the page or the chapter. Probably, Leopold simply copies this footnote from Loen's *Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisegeschichten* without consulting Calmet's book.¹⁵³

Leopold refers to Polydore Vergil's *De inventoribus rerum*, when sketching the ancient origin of the Lyra. According to Vergil, Mercury invented the lyre and the instrument came into the hands of Apollo and Orpheus only afterwards.¹⁵⁴ Leopold

¹⁴⁸ *Violinschule*, 11.

¹⁴⁹ *Violinschule*, 12. Quote from Johann Michael von Loen, ed., *Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisegeschichten*, ii (Frankfurt, van Dören, 1749), 60-1.

¹⁵⁰ *Violinschule*, 12. Quote from Loen, *Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisegeschichten*, i, 68.

¹⁵¹ *Violinschule*, 12.

¹⁵² Augustin Calmet, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, Emery, 1707-16). Two volumes published in 1713 contain the psalms with commentary.

¹⁵³ See Loen, *Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisegeschichten*, i, 68. Thomas Irvine erroneously assumes that it is Leopold Mozart who cites Calmet's work as a source on the history of musical instruments. See Irvine, 'Der belesene Kapellmeister', 11.

¹⁵⁴ *Violinschule*, 13.

specifies the pages 51 and 52 of the book and, to my knowledge, only the edition published by Heger in Leiden in 1644¹⁵⁵ prints the opening of chapter 15, where Vergil gives the description in question, across the pages 51 and 52.¹⁵⁶ A copy of this particular edition of *De inventoribus rerum* was acquired in 1646 for the court library and survives at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*.¹⁵⁷

As mentioned above, Leopold Mozart prefaces his publication of the twelve pieces for the *Hornwerk* on the Salzburg fortress with a historical abstract of the fortress and the town and he uses as his main source Franz Dückher's *Salzburgische Chronica*, which was published by Mayr in 1666. It remains an open question whether Leopold actually owned a copy of the book.

Leopold was keenly interested in European politics during all his life,¹⁵⁸ but only a few books are identifiable as being known to him. As mentioned above, Leopold sent a booklet titled *Resultat des Emserbad* to Nannerl, which reported on the agreement struck between the German archbishops, the pope and the secular German rulers at a convention in Bad Ems. Many reports and pamphlets were published on this occasion and it is not clear which one Leopold owned.

Leopold told his wife from Bologna about the impending dissolution of the Jesuit order and he mentions two recent Italian publications on the subject: Tommaso Maria Mamachi's *Del diritto libero della chiesa d'acquistare e di possedere beni temporali* in five volumes, which defends the right on worldly possessions and power for clerics, and Salvatore Spiriti's *Mamachiana, per chi vuol divertirsi*, which ridicules Mamachi's book.¹⁵⁹ Leopold apparently saw or heard about these volumes and knew the rough content at least, but if he actually read or bought them remains open.

¹⁵⁵ Polydore Vergil, *De rerum inventoribus* (Leiden, Heger, 1644).

¹⁵⁶ There are countless reprints of Vergil's work published during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Out of 50 editions checked, only this edition by Heger from 1644 does conform with Leopold's page references. This does not exclude the possibility of another print having the same pagination.

¹⁵⁷ [A-Su, 70051 I].

¹⁵⁸ For further details, see Chapter 2.2.3.

¹⁵⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 391; *Letters*, 162. Identification according to Eisen, *In Mozart's Words*, Letter 210.

3.5 Foreign dictionaries and German language books

Josef Mancal pointed out that reference books owned a special significance for Leopold, as they provided a structured way of ordering the world.¹⁶⁰ The Mozarts' library indeed included a remarkably large number of dictionaries and language tutors. The *Licitations-Protocoll* lists an unspecified English grammar and a 'small English dictionary' in addition to Alexandre de Rogissard's *Nouvelle grammaire angloise*. The Mozarts' copy of this book survives at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* and Leopold's autograph entry on the title page states that he bought it on 8 May 1764 in London, roughly two weeks after arriving there.¹⁶¹

Written in French, the book promises on its title page 'the best method to learn [the English] language easily'. It provides rules for English pronunciation, grammar, a large vocabulary, stock phrases and dialogues, exemplary letters and fables by Jean de la Fontaine and others. Quite exceptionally, it also contains some *Choice songs* with melodies at the end: one bilingual, one English and six French songs.

Back in Salzburg in 1767, Leopold apparently bought another comprehensive English dictionary in two parts for the astounding sum of 15 florins from the Augsburg book trader Klett. It has not been possible to identify this work, only Leopold's direction to Hagenauer to pay this sum to Klett, 'in case he demands it', is documented in the letters.¹⁶²

Leopold acquired the most substantial dictionary in his library long before the travels of the 1760s and 1770s. According to his autograph ownership inscription on the inside of the front cover Leopold bought Giovanni Veneroni's *Il ditionario imperiale* in 1749. This dictionary aims to cover 'the four principal languages in Europe' Italian, French, German and Latin and was published in four volumes: volume 1 offers translations from Italian into French, German and Latin, volume 2 is the French, volume 3 the German and volume 4 the Latin dictionary offering translations into the other three languages. The copy from the Mozarts' library is bound in two volumes: one consists of the Italian dictionary and the other three parts are merged in the second volume. As is generally known, the second volume

¹⁶⁰ Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*, 34.

¹⁶¹ Alexandre de Rogissard, *Nouvelle grammaire angloise* (London, Nourse & Vaillant, 1763) [A-Su, R 71090 I]. A digital image of the title page with Leopold Mozart's signature can be viewed at: <<http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/rara/R71090I001.jpg>> [accessed on 14 May 2015].

¹⁶² *Briefe*, i, 259; not in *Letters*.

from the Mozarts' household is held at the library of the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.¹⁶³

From the autograph notice inside the front cover '1749 / *Ex libris Leopoldi Mozart m[anu] p[ropr]ia / Constitit totem opus 7 fl 30 xr*' we can infer that in 1749 'the whole work cost 7fl 30xr'. Until now it was unclear whether the designation '*constitit totem opus*' referred to the three volumes bound in one, or if Leopold also bought the first volume of the dictionary. During my own research this first volume from Leopold's library was discovered at the *Salzburg Museum*.¹⁶⁴

The first volume with the Italian dictionary has the same inscription '1749 / *Ex libris Leopoldi Mozart m[anu] p[ropr]ia / Constitit totem opus 7 fl 30 xr*' by Leopold on the inside of the book cover and, in addition, Leopold's signature in ink on the title page. Intriguingly, Wolfgang appended his Christian names '*Wolfg[ang] Amad[è]*' underneath '*Mozart m[anu] p[ropr]ia*' in Leopold's hand (see Figure 8).

It remains unclear when the volume got into Wolfgang's possession, but he apparently was only interested in the Italian dictionary and not in the other three parts of the work. It is interesting to note that this volume was not listed in the *Sperrs-Relation* drawn up after Wolfgang's death. There is a conspicuous parallel to another Italian-German dictionary from Wolfgang's library, Nicolò di Castelli's *Nuovo dizionario* edited by Philipp Jakob Flathe: the two volumes of this dictionary with Wolfgang's ownership inscription are now held at the *Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*.¹⁶⁵ Castelli's dictionary does not appear on the list of books in Wolfgang's estate, too. In both cases it is not verifiable whether Wolfgang gave away or sold the books before his death or if Constanze withdrew the volumes from the estate valuation and kept them for herself.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ [A-Sm, RaraLit 212-1/3].

¹⁶⁴ [A-Sca, 41555].

¹⁶⁵ Nicolò di Castelli, *Nuovo dizionario italiano-tedesco e tedesco-italiano*, ed. Philipp Jakob Flathe, 2 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1782) [D-W, We 153:1/2]. For a reproduction of the title pages and Wolfgang's inscriptions, see *Konrad/Staehelin*, 123.

¹⁶⁶ An identification of the subsequent owners 'Eduard Ferchl' and 'Gaertner' might provide clues of the transmission of Veneroni's dictionary, but I have not been able to identify them.



Figure 8: Giovanni Veneroni, *Il dittionario imperiale, i* (Cologne and Frankfurt, Noethen, 1743), title page [A-Sca, 41555].

One further dictionary from the Mozarts' estate came to light during my research: Leopold's signed copy of Jean Robert des Pepliers's *Nouvelle et parfait grammaire royale Françoise et Allemande* (see Figure 9).¹⁶⁷



Figure 9: Jean Robert des Pepliers, *Nouvelle et parfait grammaire royale Françoise et Allemande* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1753), title page [A-Su, R 71124 I].

The first part of the book contains a basic introduction to the French language: it features detailed rules for pronunciation, grammar and syntax. The central section of the book is a dictionary, which sorts the entries according to subject categories and not alphabetically, including a short paragraph on musical instruments. A separate section with adjectives concludes the dictionary proper. A collection of stock dialogues, phrases for specific situations, exemplary speeches and letters, historical narrations, fables, moral reflections and a bilingual overview of aristocratic titles complement the volume.

¹⁶⁷ [A-Su, R 71124 I].

Possibly, Leopold acquired the book in Vienna in the early 1760s in preparation for the Western European tour. On the half title page of the volume, which was printed in 1752, stands a crossed out ownership marking by a certain Viennese count Michael Rabatta, dated 1755 (see Figure 10). Thus Leopold probably bought the dictionary thereafter.

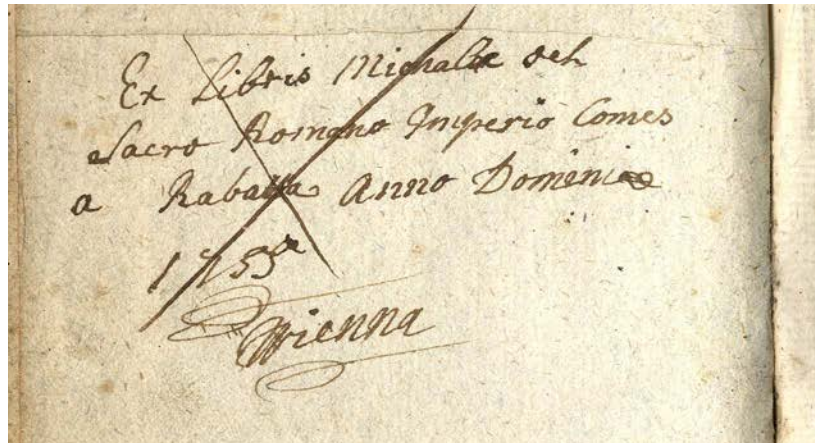


Figure 10: des Pepliers, *Nouvelle et parfait grammaire royale Française et Allemande*, half title page [A-Su, R 71124 I].

The *Licitations-Protocoll* of Leopold's estate mentions 'a French grammar',¹⁶⁸ which might be des Pepliers's work, but this equally could be yet another dictionary. In addition, the *Licitations-Protocoll* lists some foreign language books in the same section as these dictionaries: one English book, valued at 24 kreutzer, and six French 'Büchl', a term that could either be a diminutive of books, or that could refer to textbooks of theatre plays.¹⁶⁹

Regarding the correct use of the German language, Johann Christoph Gottsched's books on style and grammar were Leopold's main authority. Leopold's knowledge of all three of Gottsched's main works pertaining to the German language is documented: in 1755 Leopold ordered Gottsched's *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst*, his *Ausführliche Redekunst* and his *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* from Johann Jakob Lotter, in order to sell them on in Salzburg.¹⁷⁰ While no further details about Leopold's knowledge and use of the *Redekunst* or the *Dichtkunst* are recorded, we can safely assume that Leopold owned a copy of Gottsched's *Sprachkunst*. Leopold used the book extensively when preparing the publication of his *Violinschule* and he referred to it several times in his correspondence with his

¹⁶⁸ LM *Licitation*, 29.

¹⁶⁹ For Leopold's use of 'Büchl' in terms of textbooks, see *Briefe*, i, 31; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷⁰ See *Briefe*, i, 14; not in *Letters*.

publisher Lotter.¹⁷¹ Leopold cites specific pages for his quoted examples from Gottsched's *Sprachkunst* in his letters and according to these page references he had the second edition of Gottsched's work, which was published by Breitkopf in Leipzig in 1749.

In the aforementioned order, Leopold also asked for two Latin books from Lotter:¹⁷² Franz Wagner's *Phraseologia Germanico-Latina* and Anselm Desing's *Index poeticus*. Desing's book aims at the education of young poets: it is designed to facilitate their knowledge in classical mythology and it provides the fledging Latin poet with countless metaphors for describing facts or persons. At the same time, Desing's work is also designed as a compendium for the Latin pupil to help him understand classical poetry with all its complex web of allusions to mythology and history. Wagner's *Phraseologia* is a German-Latin dictionary, which gives translations for complete phrases instead of single words. Possibly, Leopold also owned Johann Leonhard Frisch's *Deutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch*, which he consults in the process of polishing the language of his *Violinschule*.¹⁷³ In the *Violinschule* itself Leopold displays his knowledge of one further Latin dictionary by Robert Estienne, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*,¹⁷⁴ and one Greek-Latin dictionary by Johannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum novum*.¹⁷⁵ Copies of both titles were part of the library at the university and are still extant today.¹⁷⁶

3.6 Dramas and librettos

The *Licitations-Protocoll* of Leopold's belongings lists four French plays: *Le père de famille* and *Le fils naturel* by Denis Diderot, *Eugénie* by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais and *Le comte d'Essex* by Thomas Corneille. Leopold Mozart's signed copy of Diderot's *Le père de famille* was offered for auction by Sotheby's in June 2007,¹⁷⁷ but the whereabouts of the volume are unknown.

Furthermore, the Mozarts owned at least one, but probably two substantial editions of works by Molière. In 1778, Wolfgang received a collection of Molière's

¹⁷¹ See Chapter 2.2.4 for details.

¹⁷² *Briefe*, i, 14; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷³ *Briefe*, i, 5; not in *Letters*.

¹⁷⁴ *Violinschule*, 13 & 18.

¹⁷⁵ *Violinschule*, 18.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Estienne, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Basel, Thurnis, 1740) [A-Su, 77906 III]; and Johannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum novum* (Basel, Petri, 1615) [A-Su, 77900 III].

¹⁷⁷ Leopold's book was part of the *Pierre Leroy Collection*, which was auctioned on 27 June 2007 in Paris. See Sotheby's France, ed., *100 livres, manuscrits, documents & objets littéraires de la collection Pierre Leroy* (Paris, 2007), 82.

comedies from Fridolin Weber in Mannheim, as a present upon his departure to Paris.¹⁷⁸ In all likelihood, this was the translation by Friedrich Samuel Bierling published by Herold in Hamburg 1752, as Otto Erich Deutsch presumed.¹⁷⁹ This was the first complete German edition of Molière's comedies and volume 3 out of four from this edition was among Wolfgang's Viennese estate at his death.¹⁸⁰ Possibly, this edition is the same as the '4. *Theil opere del Molier*' listed in the *Licitations-Protocoll* of Leopold Mozart's belongings.¹⁸¹ Yet, because the surviving section on Leopold's library in the *Licitations-Protocoll* deals exclusively with foreign language books, this collection of Molière's works is unlikely to be a German edition. The entry of the title in the *Licitations-Protocoll* as '*opere del Molier*' implies an Italian edition. In fact, if the scribe of the auction protocol was faithful, then the title suggests an edition in four volumes published by Novelli in Venice 1756–7: the *Opere del Molière ora nuovamente tradotte nell'italiana favella* translated by Gasparo Gozzi.¹⁸²

Thus the collected works of Molière might be among the many books which burdened the luggage on Leopold's and Wolfgang's first Italian journey in 1770.¹⁸³ The books brought home to Salzburg in 1771 certainly included a complete edition of Pietro Metastasio's works in nine volumes,¹⁸⁴ in addition to the works by Martini, Sacchi, Albrizzi and Biancolini mentioned above. Karl Joseph Firmian presented 'the Turin edition' of Metastasio's works, printed by the *Stamperia Reale* in 1757, to Wolfgang after dinner at his palace on 7 February 1770.¹⁸⁵ Leopold describes this edition as being 'one of the finest' and, never mind the weight, Leopold confesses to

¹⁷⁸ See *Briefe*, ii, 328; *Letters*, 518.

¹⁷⁹ Molière, *Sämmtliche Lustspiele*, trans. Friedrich Samuel Bierling, 4 vols. (Hamburg, Herold, 1752). See *Dokumente*, 509; *Documentary Biography*, 601.

¹⁸⁰ See *Dokumente*, 497; *Documentary Biography*, 588. The entry in the *Sperrs-Relation* reads 'Moliers Lustspiele. 3^{ter} Th[e]il m[it] K[upfern] [1]753': the title given as 'Lustspiele' points to a German edition of the comedies, but no German edition published in 1753 could be found and no other substantial collection of Molière's comedies in German apart from Bierling's edition was published before 1780. See Gabriele Blaikner-Hohenwart, *Der deutsche Molière* (Frankfurt, 2001), 555–62.

¹⁸¹ See *LM Licitations*, 29.

¹⁸² There is only one other Italian translation in four volumes of Molière's collected works in the eighteenth century: *Le opere di G.B.P. di Molière* translated by Nicolò di Castelli and published by Weidmann in Leipzig 1696–8 (a 2nd edition appeared 1739–40). See Giovanni Saverio Santangelo and Claudio Vinti, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro comico francese dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome, 1981), 102. Angermüller proposes a French edition by de Backer that appeared in 1694 in Brussels (see *LM Licitations*, 29).

¹⁸³ See *Briefe*, i, 384; *Letters*, 157–8.

¹⁸⁴ Pietro Metastasio, *Poesie del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio*, 9 vols. (Turin, Stamperia Reale, 1757).

¹⁸⁵ See *Briefe*, i, 312; *Letters*, 112.

his wife, that 'as you can easily imagine, this gift is as pleasant to me as it is to Wolfgang'.¹⁸⁶

No other theatrical books or librettos are recorded among the Mozarts' possessions, but given their great interest in the theatre it is likely that they owned a lot more librettos, in particular. In the eighteenth century, textbooks were commonly sold for performances at court or in public theatres and Leopold himself dealt with librettos printed or distributed by Lotter in 1756.¹⁸⁷

Quite intriguing is an excerpt from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* within Leopold's travel notes, possibly dating from his days in London in 1765.¹⁸⁸ Leopold normally keeps his entries in the travel notes down to a bare minimum of facts and contacts, thus this extended passage from Shakespeare's work must have deeply impressed him, whether he saw the play on stage or just read it:

Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones and floods,
Since nought so stockish, hard and full of rage,
But musick for the time doth change his nature.
The man that hath no Musick in himself
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet Sounds,
Is fit for treasons, Stratagems, and Spoils;
The motions of his Spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus: Let no such man be trusted.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ *Briefe*, i, 312; *Letters*, 112. Leopold's exact bibliographical specification of a 'Turin edition' in 'nine volumes' created some confusion in the past, as the nine volumes published in 1757 were followed by four supplemental volumes between 1768 and 1788, making the complete 'Turin edition' nowadays a set of thirteen volumes (see e.g. the commentary on this letter *Briefe*, v, 229). Yet, in 1757 this edition was printed in nine volumes and labeled as 'complete edition'.

¹⁸⁷ See *Briefe*, i, 31-2; not in *Letters*.

¹⁸⁸ Although the excerpt is written on a single sheet, which is extant at the ISM [A-Sm, DocBD 101], the watermark and size of the paper accord with other sheets of the *Reise-Aufzeichnungen*. According to the working materials of Georg Nikolaus Nissen for his biography, the sheet with the Shakespeare excerpt was given to him by Maria Anna von Berchtold zu Sonnenburg together with the travel notes in 1824. I am very grateful to Dr. Anja Morgenstern for the information on the transmission of this excerpt.

¹⁸⁹ *Briefe*, i, 200; not in *Letters*.

3.7 Novels and poetry

Leopold Mozart greatly admired the Leipzig author Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, with whom he also conversed by letter,¹⁹⁰ and we can assume that he was familiar with a great number of Gellert's works. Yet, documentation of Leopold's actual ownership and knowledge of Gellert's books is fairly sparse. Apparently, Leopold did not only enjoy reading Gellert's writings, but he also encouraged his friends in Salzburg to read Gellert's works.¹⁹¹ Possibly connected to this active promotion of Gellert's writings, he enquired of Johann Jakob Lotter in June 1755 how much the complete works by Gellert would cost all in all.¹⁹² The actual order was sent to Lotter in August of the same year, but it only comprised two books by Gellert: *Fabeln und Erzählungen* and *Lehrgedichte und Erzählungen*.¹⁹³ Perhaps Leopold owned both of these volumes himself, as well as the novel *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfinn von G.*, which Gellert recommended to him in his letter.¹⁹⁴ Yet, no firm documentation in this respect survives.

Circumstantial evidence exists that Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* were part of the Mozarts' Salzburg library. When Friedrich Carl von Bose parted from the Mozarts in Paris in 1764, he gave Wolfgang 'a beautiful book with spiritual considerations in rhymes', as Leopold reported to Hagenauer.¹⁹⁵ This book is traditionally identified as a copy of Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*¹⁹⁶ and a look at Bose's biography reinforces this assumption considerably. Born in 1737, Bose matriculated at Leipzig university on 22 December 1755. He was sent there to study and live with Gellert by the duchess Johanna Elisabeth von Anhalt-Zerbst.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ Only one letter by Gellert survives, see *Briefe*, i, 237; not in *Letters*. In *Briefe* Gellert's letter is dated 'between 1754 and 1766'; with regards to the content of the letter, the date can be given more precisely as April 1754. See Valentin, 'Was die Bücher anlangt', 105; and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Briefwechsel*, ed. John F. Reynolds, i (Berlin, 1983), 194.

¹⁹¹ See *Briefe*, i, 237; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹² *Briefe*, i, 5; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹³ *Briefe*, i, 14; not in *Letters*.

¹⁹⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 237; not in *Letters*. Curiously, Gellert recommends to Leopold the French translation of the novel, made by the Berlin professor of philosophy Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey in 1754.

¹⁹⁵ *Briefe*, i, 140; *Letters*, 43.

¹⁹⁶ See *Dokumente*, 29; *Documentary Biography*, 28.

¹⁹⁷ See Gellert, *Briefwechsel*, i, 405. The only information on 'Baron von Bose' in the commentary to *Briefe* is his birthdate, given as 1751 (see *Briefe*, v, 58): this must be a misidentification, as Bose would have been thirteen at the time, when he met the Mozarts, but Leopold Mozart clearly talks about an adult person (see *Briefe*, i, 140; *Letters*, 43). The correct dates for Friedrich Carl von Bose are 1737 – 28 April 1764.

The Mozarts visited Zurich in 1766, where they met the ‘two erudite *Herren* Gessner’,¹⁹⁸ the physicist Johannes and the writer and publisher Salomon Gessner. Leopold reported to Hagenauer that the two men ‘made [...] our stay very pleasant, and our departure very sorrowful’ and that ‘we took with us tokens of their friendship’.¹⁹⁹ While Leopold’s letter does not specify the kind of presents, which the Gessners gave them, Georg Nikolaus Nissen’s biography of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart gives more details: according to Nissen, Salomon Gessner presented his collected writings to the family, his wife Judith Gessner, née Heidegger, gave them the poetical writings of Christoph Martin Wieland and her brother Heinrich Heidegger gave Leopold the German translation of Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras*.²⁰⁰ Until now only the copy of Salomon Gessner’s collected works in four volumes from the Mozarts’ library was known to be extant at the *International Stiftung Mozarteum*.²⁰¹ Hitherto unnoticed, I was able to locate Leopold’s copy of Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras* at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*.²⁰² Thus two out of the three works cited in Nissen’s biography are now known and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Judith Gessner giving Wieland’s poetical writings to the family.

Salomon Gessner’s *Schriften* were published in Zurich by the author’s own company in 1765 and the Mozarts’ copy is bound in two volumes, each containing two parts. It includes a handwritten dedication by the author, which praises the wise parents and the talented children and assures them of his lifelong friendship.²⁰³

The collected edition of Gessner’s writings contains *Der Tod Abels*, an idyllic prose epos based on the biblical story, in the first part. The major bucolic poem *Daphnis* and the prose painting *Die Nacht* make up the second volume of his *Schriften*. The third volume consists of Gessner’s *Idyllen* and the last volume contains the pastoral drama *Evander und Alcimna*.

Possibly, Gessner’s writings were a particular favourite at the Mozarts’ house: at Wolfgang’s death another set of Gessner’s works is listed among the books in his estate. The entry in the *Sperrs-Relation* reads ‘Gefßners Schriften 1. und 2^e Th[ei]l. Zürich [1]762’.²⁰⁴ Deutsch as well as Konrad and Staehelin assume these volumes to be the ones given to the Mozart family in Zurich in 1766, but they quietly pass over the

¹⁹⁸ *Briefe*, i, 230; *Letters*, 67.

¹⁹⁹ *Briefe*, i, 230–1; *Letters*, 67–8.

²⁰⁰ Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 116–7.

²⁰¹ [A-Sm, RaraLit 117-1/2].

²⁰² [A-Su, R 73562 I].

²⁰³ For a transcript and translation of the dedication letter, see *Dokumente*, 58; *Documentary Biography*, 60. For an image of the dedication, see *DeutschBilder*, 81.

²⁰⁴ *Dokumente*, 497; *Documentary Biography*, 588.

discrepancy in the year of publication:²⁰⁵ while the presented edition is published in 1765, the *Sperrs-Relation* gives 1762 as publication date. An earlier edition of Gessner's collected writings published in Zurich in 1762 by Orell and Gessner does indeed exist.²⁰⁶ Of course, the noted year might be a mistake in the *Sperrs-Relation*, but an additional notice below Gessner's dedication letter in the volume at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum* strengthens the argument that Wolfgang's Viennese copy of Gessner's writings was a different one. The notice is written by Nannerl's son Leopold Berchtold zu Sonnenburg. It verifies that the books at hand were given to the Mozart family by Gessner in Zurich, but it does not mention them belonging to Wolfgang at any point. Thus the two volumes of the 1765 edition were passed on from Leopold to Nannerl and then further on to Leopold Berchtold zu Sonnenburg. Beyond that, it is impossible to determine whether Wolfgang's set of Gessner's writings published in 1762 was already part of their Salzburg library.

As mentioned above, Nissen's biography was the only source until now claiming that Heinrich Heidegger presented a German translation of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* to Leopold.²⁰⁷ The discovery of the book from the Mozarts' library at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*²⁰⁸ now substantiates Nissen's report, including the specific statement that Heidegger gave the book to the father Leopold. Heidegger inscribed the half title page of the book with a little dedication, which is crossed out probably by a later owner of the volume, but which is still legible: '*Pour M[onsieu]r Mozart Le Père. / de depart de son amy & serviteur / Heidegger*' (See Figure 11).

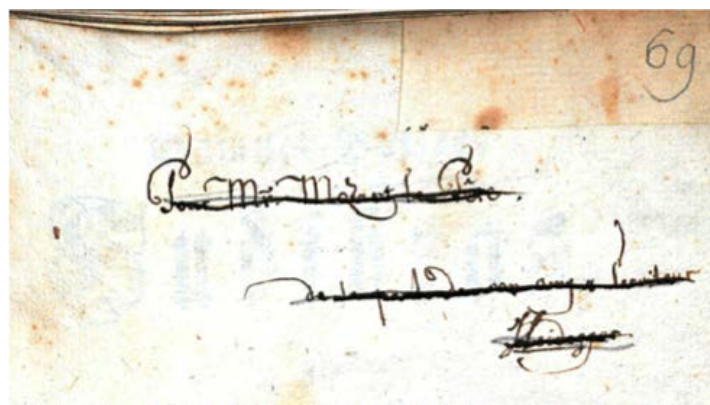


Figure 11: Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ein satyrisches Gedicht (Zurich, Orell, 1765), half title page [A-Su, R 73562 I].

²⁰⁵ See *Dokumente*, 509; *Documentary Biography*, 601; and *Konrad/Staehelin*, 48–50.

²⁰⁶ Salomon Gessner, *S. Gessners Schriften*, 4 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1762).

²⁰⁷ Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 117.

²⁰⁸ [A-Su, R 73562 I].

Butler's *Hudibras* is titled a 'satirical poem' on the English civil war in nine songs. The edition given to Leopold was a German translation by Johann Heinrich Waser, published by *Orell, Gessner & Companie* in 1765.²⁰⁹ Waser based his translation of Butler's *Hudibras* on Johann Jakob Bodmer's translated extracts,²¹⁰ which Bodmer published with the same company in 1737.²¹¹ The edition owned by the Mozarts includes copper engravings by Salomon Gessner: one depicting a central scene for each of the nine songs.²¹²

The *Poetische Schriften* by Wieland, which Judith Gessner gave to the Mozart family in Zurich according to Nissen, are likely to be the edition by *Orell, Gessner & Companie*, published in 1762, with engravings by Salomon Gessner.²¹³ Furthermore, Leopold probably owned Wieland's *Sympathien*. As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, Leopold referred to this work, when trying to put into words the bond he felt between Waldstätten and himself. *Die Abderiten* is the title of another book by Wieland that Leopold and apparently also Wolfgang knew. Wieland published this satire of provincialism in instalments in his journal *Der Teutsche Merkur* between 1774 and 1780 and also as a book in 1774. Writing to his son in October 1777, Leopold compared the citizens of his birthplace Augsburg to the fools inhabiting Abdera in Wieland's novel.²¹⁴ The letter evidently presupposes Wolfgang's knowledge of the book.

Wieland's satire was common family reading: early in 1786 Nannerl wanted to read the novel (again?) and asked Leopold for it. Leopold did not have the book at his home at that point or he did not want to part from it and so he tried in vain to obtain it in Salzburg.²¹⁵ Eventually, Leopold borrowed it from Theobald Marchand, the father of his violin pupil Heinrich, when he was in Munich for the carnival festivities in 1786, and sent the book to St. Gilgen.²¹⁶ In November of the same year, Leopold posted another unspecified 'book by Wieland' to Nannerl, together with a

²⁰⁹ Waser's translations, particularly of Shakespeare's works, played an important role in the dissemination of English literature in German speaking countries. See Theodor Vetter, *Johann Heinrich Waser [...] ein Vermittler englischer Literatur* (Zurich, 1898).

²¹⁰ See Sigisbert Büeler, J. H. Waser, 1713–1777 *Diacon in Winterthur, als Übersetzer des "Hudibras" von S. Butler* (Fribourg, 1936), 21–7.

²¹¹ Johann Jakob Bodmer, *Versuch einer deutschen Übersetzung von Samuel Butlers Hudibras* (Zurich, Orell, 1737).

²¹² For the attribution of the copper engravings in the book to Salomon Gessner, see Georg Kaspar Nagler, ed., *Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, v (Munich, 1837), 121.

²¹³ Christoph Martin Wieland, *Poetische Schriften*, 3 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1762).

²¹⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 72; *Letters*, 332.

²¹⁵ See *Briefe*, iii, 502; not in *Letters*.

²¹⁶ See *Briefe*, iii, 510 & 514; not in *Letters*.

‘puerility’ for her amusement: this was a ‘bilingual’ booklet (or leaflet?) in Swabian dialect on the one side and ‘on the other side written in intelligible language’.²¹⁷

The letters between Leopold and Nannerl from the 1780s document two more literary works being dispatched to St. Gilgen: the *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen* by Christian Gottlob Stephanie and Samuel Richardson’s epistolary novel *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*.

In November 1785 Leopold writes to Nannerl:

Here are the *Sammlungen zum Vergnügen*. You probably thought of these. I can only send you one year: I didn’t have any more large sheets of packing paper.²¹⁸

The *Sammlungen zum Vergnügen* is a series started by Christian Gottlob Stephanie under the title of *Gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*.²¹⁹ This monthly periodical appeared in Vienna between 1766 and 1767, published by Trattner. It contained short novels, little dramas and poems as well as reviews of theatrical plays. In 1768, it was succeeded by a series called *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*²²⁰ now published by Rudolf Gräffer. A year later, the publisher and the title changed one more time and the journal was now issued as *Neue gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen und Unterricht* by van Ghelen.²²¹

Born in Wrocław in 1733 the actor Stephanie joined the court theatre in Vienna in 1760 and was one of the formative actors of his time. He also worked as author and arranger of theatre plays and published several librettos in the 1770s. Although no documentation survives, the Mozarts possibly met him in Vienna in the 1760s. In volume three of his periodical, then called *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*, Stephanie published two songs by Wolfgang: *An die Freude* (K53) and *Daphne, deine Rosenwangen* (K52).²²² The first song is set to a text by Johann Peter Uz

²¹⁷ *Briefe*, iii, 606–7; not in *Letters*.

²¹⁸ ‘Hier sind die Sammlungen zum Vergnügen, diese wirst du wohl meinen, ich kann nur einen Jahrgang schicken: ich hatte nicht mehrer grosses Packpapier.’ *Briefe*, iii, 460; not in *Letters*.

²¹⁹ Christian Gottlob Stephanie, ed., *Gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*, 2 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1766–7).

²²⁰ Christian Gottlob Stephanie, ed., *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*, 2 vols. (Vienna, Gräffer, 1768–9).

²²¹ *Neue gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen* (Vienna, van Ghelen, 1769–70). I could not verify, if Stephanie was still involved as editor of this publication. The numbering of the volumes is kept continuous across the differently titled journals: volume 1 and 2 appeared as *Gesammelte Schriften*, volume 3 and 4 as *Neue Sammlung* and volume 5 as *Neue gesammelte Schriften*. For further particulars about this series, see the relevant entries in Helmut W. Lang, ed., *Bibliographie der Österreichischen Zeitschriften 1704–1850*, 3 vols. (Munich, 2006).

²²² Stephanie, *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*, iii, 80 & 140.

and the second is an adaptation of an aria from Wolfgang's opera *Bastien und Bastienne* (K50) as a song for keyboard and voice.

According to Leopold's comment in the letter to Nannerl that he could send her 'only one year', he owned at least two volumes of the journal. Presumably, he owned volume 3 with Wolfgang's songs in it and, if he was accurate with his listing of the title as '*Sammlungen zum Vergnügen*', then he had volume 4 of the periodical, too.

It is not documented at what point Leopold acquired Richardson's *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*. The first German translation of the work appeared 1754–5: it was translated by Johann Mattheson and published by Weidmann in Leipzig.²²³ In the 1780s Richardson's novel apparently was a favoured novel in the wider Mozart household and the books travelled back and forth several times between Salzburg and St. Gilgen: Leopold sent 'the seven parts of Charles Grandison' to Nannerl in October 1784.²²⁴ A couple of years later, they were in Salzburg again, since Heinrich Marchand, Leopold's resident violin pupil, read the novel there. Then the volumes got sent back to St. Gilgen one by one with thanks from Heinrich.²²⁵ Since Leopold mentioned 'the seven parts' of the novel, the family probably owned Weidmann's edition: the publisher issued five editions of Richardson's novel between 1754 and 1780, all of them in seven volumes.²²⁶

Another work by an English author that Leopold apparently knew well was Edward Young's *Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*. In 1778 an old acquaintance of Leopold, Matthäus Casimir Lendorff, met Wolfgang in Paris and heard of the recent passing of Maria Anna Mozart. Lendorff wrote a letter of condolence, which is now lost, to Leopold in Salzburg and recommended Young's work in a French translation to Leopold as consolatory reading. Leopold cites Lendorff's letter in his next post to Wolfgang and the way Leopold explains which book Lendorff meant shows his familiarity with Young's work.²²⁷

A hitherto unknown volume from the possession of Leopold Mozart and his knowledge of Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener's satires testify to Leopold's acute interest in contemporary literature published in the northern parts of Germany during the 1750s. At the end of the *Vorbericht* in the *Violinschule* Leopold cites Rabener's conclusion to the preface of his *Sammlung satyrischer Schriften*, published between

²²³ Samuel Richardson, *Geschichte Herrn Carl Grandison*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1754–5).

²²⁴ *Briefe*, iii, 337; not in *Letters*.

²²⁵ See *Briefe*, iii, 563 & 612; not in *Letters*.

²²⁶ 1st edition 1754–5; 2nd edition 1759; 3rd edition 1764; 4th edition 1770; and 5th edition 1780.

²²⁷ See *Briefe*, ii, 434; not in *Letters*.

1751 and 1755.²²⁸ It is unclear, if Leopold himself owned the satires, which were very popular in his hometown.

The newly discovered volume at the *Salzburg Museum*²²⁹ contains three different publications bound together: Florens Arnold Consbruch's collection of poems *Versuche in Westphälischen Gedichten*, Johann Christian Helck's fables and an anonymous collection of fables titled *Neue Fabeln und Erzehlungen in gebundener Schreibart*. The title page of the first publication in the volume, Consbruch's poems, carries Leopold's autograph ownership signature (see Figure 12).



Figure 12: Florens Arnold Consbruch, *Versuche in Westphälischen Gedichten* (Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1751), title page [A-Sca, 19049].

²²⁸ See *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated]. The cited sentence 'I mean no one excepting those who know whom I have meant' appears in Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener, *Sammlung satyrischer Schriften*, i (Leipzig, Dyck, 1751), 74.

²²⁹ [A-Sca, 19049].

Leopold's and Wolfgang's song compositions provide another window to their knowledge of poetry and they clearly valued North German poetry rather than texts published in the Catholic south. Leopold set three songs to poems by Johann Christian Günther, who studied in Wittenberg and Leipzig,²³⁰ and one to a text by the Berlin poet Friedrich von Canitz.²³¹ In both cases it remains an open question where Leopold got the texts from. Günther's poems were reprinted numerous times before 1772, which the LMV gives as latest date of composition. Similarly, Canitz's works were highly popular and received many different editions during the eighteenth century.²³²

Wolfgang's songs that he composed before his move to Vienna demonstrate strikingly the Mozarts' knowledge of the newest poetry and many of the lyrics display a close affinity to the ideal of *Empfindsamkeit*. He set three texts from the third volume of Johann Timotheus Hermes's highly popular novel *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* (K390-2).²³³ Hermes interpolated poems at crucial moments in the novel, changing into the heightened form of poetical expression for the portrayal of the emotional state of the protagonists.²³⁴ Possibly, Wolfgang got to know the texts via their friend Schidenhofen, who owned all five volumes of the novel in its second edition.²³⁵

During his stay in Munich 1780-1 for the rehearsals and performances of *Idomeneo* (K366) Wolfgang set a poem by Johann Martin Miller, who was another author central to the literary phenomenon of *empfindsam* novels.²³⁶ According to Konrad and Staehelin, Wolfgang knew the version of Miller's poem *Die Zufriedenheit* printed in the *Vossische Musenalmanach* in 1777.²³⁷ As before, no documentation survives that the Mozarts actually owned this almanach.

²³⁰ LMV VI:2, 4 & 5.

²³¹ LMV VI:3.

²³² For more information on these songs, see Roland Biener, 'Zu Leopold Mozarts Liedern', *Acta Mozartiana*, 1 (2003), 105-17.

²³³ In the dating of these songs, I am following Ulrich Konrad who dates them 'presumably Salzburg, around 1780', while the editors of the NMA dated these songs 'Vienna, presumably between August 1781 and May 1782'. See Ulrich Konrad, *Mozart-Werkverzeichnis* (Kassel, 2005), 34-5; and NMA III/8.

²³⁴ Konrad and Staehelin point out that Hermes himself envisaged these lyrics to be sung. See Konrad/Staehelin, 133-4.

²³⁵ Konrad and Staehelin assume that Wolfgang used this second edition. See Konrad/Staehelin, 133.

²³⁶ For more information on Miller's most successful novel *Siegwart : eine Klostergeschichte* (Leipzig, Weygand, 1776) see Anna Richards, 'The Sentimental Novel as Trostschrift : Johann Martin Miller's *Siegwart. Eine Klostergeschichte* (1776)', *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, lxxix/3 (2010), 147-58.

²³⁷ Konrad/Staehelin, 134.

As mentioned above, one of Wolfgang's songs published in Stephanie's *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen* was set to a poem by Johann Peter Uz, who was particularly famous for his anacreontic poetry. The text of *An die Freude* (K53) is a typical example of this style, laden with references to antiquity and untainted nature. Wolfgang's source for the text, probably chosen by his father or even suggested by Stephanie, was the brand-new edition of the 'collected poetical works' by Uz, which was published in Leipzig in 1768.²³⁸ Wolfgang's song appeared in the same year.

Wolfgang composed three more songs before 1781: for one song he used a text by the freemason Ludwig Friedrich Lenz (K148) and the two others set French lyrics by Antoine Ferrand and Antoine Houdar de la Motte (K307-8). Lenz's poem *Auf die feierliche Johannisloge* is included in his anthology of freemason songs, published in Regensburg in 1772.²³⁹ The text to one of the French songs was given to Mozart in Mannheim in 1777 by the daughter of the flautist Johann Baptist Wendling.²⁴⁰

The family letters also reveal the Mozarts' knowledge of some of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's works. A letter written to the 'Bäsele' Maria Anna Thekla shows Wolfgang creatively mimicking Klopstock's 'affectionate' ode *Edone*.²⁴¹ It remains unclear where Wolfgang knew Klopstock's *Edone* from, which was included in several popular literary anthologies between 1773 and 1780, as for example in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1775* in a song setting by Johann Friedrich Reichardt.²⁴² Leopold apparently knew Klopstock's epos *Der Messias*, when he reported to Nannerl in 1786:

The day before yesterday, a *declamateur* was scheduled to appear in the town hall, in order to show himself in the art of high declamation etc. by reciting excerpts from Klopstock's *Messias*.²⁴³

In the following Leopold specified the name of the *declamaeur* as 'Doctor Geiger'. Because the time of his performance clashed with several other events in Salzburg – a lecture on experimental physics by Dominicus Beck at 4 o'clock, a litany at Mirabell at 5 and an opera performance at 6 – and because it was the most beautiful

²³⁸ See Konrad/Staehelin, 131–2.

²³⁹ See Konrad/Staehelin, 132–3.

²⁴⁰ See *Briefe*, ii, 265; *Letters*, 468. And Konrad/Staehelin, 130–1.

²⁴¹ *Briefe*, ii, 548; *Letters*, 653. The dependence on Klopstock is pointed out in the commentary to this letter, see *Briefe*, v, 587.

²⁴² *Göttinger Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1775* (Göttingen, Waldeck, 1774), 111–2. For a complete listing of the editions of *Edone*, see Christiane Boghardt, ed., *Die zeitgenössischen Drucke von Klopstocks Werken*, i (Berlin, 1981), 323–5.

²⁴³ 'Vorgestern sollte ein Declamateur auf dem Rathhaussaale aus Klopstocks Meßias sich in der hohen Declamation etc: zeigen'. *Briefe*, iii, 545; not in *Letters*.

weather on that day, only three people turned up at the town hall and the performance was rescheduled to take place a few days later in the reading room of the Salzburg *Lesegesellschaft*. Leopold predicts that only the members of the *Lesegesellschaft* and some scholarly persons will turn up, because 'the [common] people don't understand, what this [event] is or wants to be'.²⁴⁴ How far Leopold's knowledge of Klopstock's work went, is open to speculation: he might have read it or parts of it or he has just heard of the work, being one of the most influential works of the period.

Finally, there are three books of poetry and fiction within Wolfgang's Viennese estate, which might stem from the Salzburg library: a complete edition of the works by Christian Ewald Kleist, published by Trattner in Vienna in 1765, the *Kleine lyrische Gedichte* by Christian Felix Weiße published by Weidmann in Leipzig in 1772 and Wieland's *Die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope* (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777).

3.8 Religious books

Several books of religious content were part of the Mozarts' Salzburg library, but just the title of one of these books can be identified without doubt: Girolamo Giovannini's *Officium hebdomadæ sanctæ juxta formam missalis, & breviarii Romani sub Urbano VIII. correcti*, which is a book with liturgical texts and prayers for Holy Week. Unknown until now, Leopold Mozart's copy of this work is extant at the library of the *Salzburg Museum*.²⁴⁵ According to Leopold's autograph entry, he bought the book in 1749 (see Figure 13).

Another prayer book of the Mozarts was part of the collections at the *Salzburg Museum*, but could not be found any more. It is documented in an old, disused card index: the card primarily refers to the copper engravings from Leopold's estate, which found their way into the collections of the museum. An additional note reports that with the prints 'there is also [Leopold Mozart's] small English prayer book, which he bought in London'.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ *Briefe*, iii, 545; not in *Letters*. This is the only instance that Leopold mentions the *Lesegesellschaft* in Salzburg; it is possible that he himself was a member of the *Lesegesellschaft*, too, but no documentation for this survives. Some of Leopold's closest friends were involved in the reading society: Albert Andreas Eligius von Mölk, Joseph Ernst Gilowsky von Urazowa and Ferdinand von Schidenhofen.

²⁴⁵ [A-Sca, 16773]. I am grateful to Peter Schneeberger and Dr. Gerhard Plasser in the library of the *Salzburg Museum*, who pointed my attention to this book within their collection.

²⁴⁶ Cited after Angermüller and Ramsauer, 'du wirst, wenn uns Gott gesund zurückkommen läßt, schöne Sachen sehen', 2.



Figure 13: Girolamo Giovannini, *Officium hebdomadæ sanctæ* (Venice, Pezzana, 1727), title page [A-Sca, 16773].

Wolfgang's travel luggage on his journey to Paris in 1777–8 included two prayer books, whose exact titles remain unidentified: a 'large Latin prayer book', which contains 'all psalms and other church texts', and a book of psalms in German translation.²⁴⁷ Leopold recommended to his son to use the Latin prayer book for praying from time to time, as this would be 'useful for practicing the Latin language'.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, there are three unidentified French *Bethbüchl*, little prayer books, which are listed in the *Licitations-Protocoll*.²⁴⁹

Leopold owned two books by Lodovico Antonio Muratori, which he posted to Nannerl in 1787, but the titles of these two books are not documented.²⁵⁰ While we

²⁴⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 59; *Letters*, 320.

²⁴⁸ *Briefe*, ii, 59; *Letters*, 320.

²⁴⁹ *LM Licitation*, 29.

²⁵⁰ *Briefe*, iv, 27; not in *Letters*.

do not know, whether these were religious, historical or philosophical works by Muratori, this still demonstrates an interest in or at least awareness of Muratori's influential writings on Leopold's and Nannerl's side.²⁵¹

Another volume of religious literature got mentioned in one of Leopold's letters to Lorenz Hagenauer in 1768: apparently, Hagenauer asked Leopold to buy a book in Vienna with 'sermons for all Sundays' by the bishop Pio Manzador. Leopold reported back that he 'wanted to buy the requested book immediately at Herr von Trattner', but he was informed at the book shop that no such book existed, just a volume of 'sermons for feast days and eulogies' by the same author.²⁵² The bibliographical details of this book or these books cannot be ascertained without doubt, but it seems plausible that the volume with 'sermons for feast days and eulogies', which Leopold was offered by the shop assistant at Trattner's book shop, was in fact the same work as requested by Hagenauer. Two volumes of 'Sermons, containing several eulogies interpolated with many salutary moral lessons' by Manzador are published by Kirchberger in Vienna, the first volume in 1749 and the second in 1753.²⁵³ Both volumes of this work got reprinted by Rieger in Augsburg in 1765, now titled *Unterschiedliche Ehren-Reden*.²⁵⁴ The first edition of the work published by Kirchberger in Vienna announces on the title page to its second volume that it contains 'a very convenient instruction, how to use the content of these two volumes for sermons on Sundays and feast days across the whole year'.²⁵⁵ The second edition published by Rieger in Augsburg drops the addition 'for sermons on Sundays and feast days across the whole year', but it states simply 'with a detailed instruction for the use' of these volumes.²⁵⁶ So possibly Hagenauer knew of the older edition and remembered the book to be a book with 'sermons for all Sundays', while in 1768 the book shop Trattner only stocked the newer edition.

Apart from documenting Leopold's knowledge of a work by Pio Manzador, this incident proves his visit to the book shop Trattner in Vienna, which was as successful as controversial in the eighteenth century, because Trattner was famous

²⁵¹ For a complete list of writings by Muratori, see Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich*, 206–12.

²⁵² *Briefe*, i, 253; not in *Letters*.

²⁵³ Pio Manzador, *Predigen : enthaltet unterschiedliche Ehren-Reden mit vielen eingemengten heylsamen Sitten-Lehren*, 2 vols. (Vienna, Kirchberger, 1749–53).

²⁵⁴ Pio Manzador, *Unterschiedliche Ehren-Reden : mit vielen eingemengten heilsamen Sittenlehren, auch vorgesetztem Verzeichniß aller Predigen*, 2 vols. (Augsburg, Rieger, 1765).

²⁵⁵ 'einem sehr bequemen Anzeig, wie das in diesen zwey Theilen Befindliche zu den Predigen über die sonn- und Feyertägliche Evangelien durch das ganze Jahr angewendet werden möge'. Manzador, *Predigen*, ii, title page.

²⁵⁶ See Manzador, *Unterschiedliche Ehrenreden*, title page.

for ruthlessly pirating books from all over Europe and selling them cheaply in Vienna.²⁵⁷ Leopold held Trattner's book shop in high regard and calls it 'the most respected [book shop], which should know well, if these requested Sunday sermons were printed'.²⁵⁸

3.9 Miscellaneous

Leopold's fascination with fortifications has been noted above²⁵⁹ and possibly he owned a French book written by Georges-Louis Le Rouge, which detailed several military camps. Cliff Eisen argued that the Mozarts brought back Le Rouge's *Le parfait aide de camp*, which was transmitted as part of the estate of the Hagenauer family, from their European journey in 1766.²⁶⁰

The *Etrennes mignonnes*, which the duchess van Eyck gave to Wolfgang in Paris in 1764,²⁶¹ is a little calendar published by the chapter of Liege cathedral. The title of the booklet means a 'sweet little new-years gift' and it contains a diverse range of information: the calendar lists religious feast days for the coming year and also birthdays and name days of important European nobles. It also includes very practical information, such as conversion tables for different currencies.²⁶²

A highly practical book of a different sort is the duchess Eleonora Maria Rosalia's *Freywillig Auffgesprungener Granat-Appfel*.²⁶³ This was a widely used medical book providing recipes and prescriptions for treatment of all sorts of illnesses.²⁶⁴ First published in 1695 the book received several new editions and enlargements during the eighteenth century and Leopold Mozart as well as Nannerl in St. Gilgen each owned a copy of it.²⁶⁵

The surviving section of the *Licitations-Protokoll* lists under the number 542 a book with the title 'Me Pensces', which Angermüller identifies as Blaise Pascal's

²⁵⁷ For a comprehensive account of Johann Thomas Trattner's business dealings, see Hermine Cloeter, *Johann Thomas Trattner* (Köln, 1952).

²⁵⁸ *Briefe*, i, 253; not in *Letters*.

²⁵⁹ See Chapter 2.2.2.

²⁶⁰ See Cliff Eisen, 'Ein neu entdecktes Mozart-Porträt?', *Acta Mozartiana*, lv/1–2 (2008), 65.

²⁶¹ *Etrennes mignonnes pour l'an bissextile de Notre Seigneur* (Liege, Kints, 1764).

²⁶² The information on this book is based on Konrad/Stahelin, 118–20.

²⁶³ Eleonora Maria Rosalia, *Freywillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appfel deß christlichen Samaritans* (Wien, Voigt, 1725).

²⁶⁴ For more information on this book, see Peter Assion, 'Das Arzneibuch der Landgräfin Eleonore von Hessen-Darmstadt: Ein Beitrag zum Phänomen medizinischer caritas nach der Reformation', *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, xvii/4 (1982), 317–41.

²⁶⁵ *Briefe*, iv, 18; not in *Letters*.

Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion.²⁶⁶ This seems a little far fetched to me, as there is a book with a fairly similar title to the entry in the *Licitations-Protokoll*: Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle's work *Mes pensées*, first published in Copenhagen in 1751 and then reprinted in Berlin and other places.²⁶⁷ La Beaumelle's book contains his personal comments on contemporary writers, philosophers and other intellectuals, which abound with scathing remarks and sarcasm.

In a letter to Nannerl written in January 1786 Leopold stated that *Le procès des trois rois* by Ange Goudar²⁶⁸ was his favourite book 'three years ago'²⁶⁹ and he read the French original and the German translation titled *Rechtshandel der drey Könige*.²⁷⁰ Leopold valued the pamphlet because 'it tells the truth to the great men' in power. It is not documented whether Leopold owned either version of the book, but considering that it was his favourite book in the early 1780s, we can safely assume this to be the case.

Another book that Leopold enjoyed reading was Franz von der Trenck's *Merkwürdiges Leben und Thaten des Weltberühmten Herrn Francisci Frey-Herrns von der Trenck*.²⁷¹ Leopold read this 'excellent' biography, while he stayed with the Marchand family in Munich during the carnival festivities in February 1787.²⁷²

Finally, we can glance from a surviving little note in Leopold's hand that he was aware of Johann Georg Zimmermann's *Über die Einsamkeit*.²⁷³ Zimmermann was a Swiss philosopher and doctor, who worked in Göttingen for most of his life. His work *Über die Einsamkeit* was an expansive monograph on melancholy, on the value and on the dangers of this state of mind.²⁷⁴ Leopold copied out a short excerpt from the work and noted down that this was 'a remarkable section from Zimmermann's work on solitude (part III, page 46)'.²⁷⁵ From the bibliographical indication it is clear

²⁶⁶ See *LM Licitations*, 28.

²⁶⁷ Laurent Angliviel de La Beaumelle, *Mes pensées* (Berlin, s.n., 1752).

²⁶⁸ Ange Goudar, *Le procès des trois rois* (London, Carenaught, 1780).

²⁶⁹ See *Briefe*, iii, 496; not in *Letters*.

²⁷⁰ Ange Goudar, *Rechtshandel der drey Könige* (s.l., s.n., 1782).

²⁷¹ Franz von der Trenck, *Merkwürdiges Leben und Thaten des Weltberühmten Herrn Francisci Frey-Herrns von der Trenck* (Frankfurt, s.n., 1748).

²⁷² *Briefe*, iv, 26; not in *Letters*.

²⁷³ Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Über die Einsamkeit*, 4 vols. (Troppau, s.n., 1785–6).

²⁷⁴ First published in 1784–5, *Über die Einsamkeit*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1784–5) was Zimmermann's third tract on the subject of 'solitude': nearly thirty years before, in 1756, he published *Betrachtungen über die Einsamkeit* (Zurich, s.n., 1756) and in 1773 another essay titled *Von der Einsamkeit* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1773).

²⁷⁵ See photograph of this note in Leopold Mozart's hand at the ISM (I am grateful to Dr. Anja Morgenstern, who drew my attention to this document). The current location of the original is unknown. This note and two further slips of paper with excerpts from Meinrad Spiess's *Tractatus musicus* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1745–6) and from a collection of Salzburg antiphons *Antiphonale monasticum secundum ritum antiquum* (Salzburg, Haan, 1705) were

that Leopold used the edition of Zimmermann's work published in Troppau in 1785–6: only in this edition is the excerpted passage printed on page 46 of volume 3. Zimmermann's words, which in fact were Moses Mendelssohn's words as the passage was a quotation from a letter by Mendelssohn to Zimmermann,²⁷⁶ resonate with many of Leopold's own attitudes and his worldview as expressed in and documented by his *Violinschule*.

The passage begins with the dream of Enlightenment that the light of reason will supplant the darkness of superstition: 'We dreamt of nothing but Enlightenment – and we believed that by brightening up the region with the light of reason the *Schwärmerei* would certainly not show itself any more'. The emphasis on the 'light of reason' is Leopold's own and it documents his fondness of this image, which is such a central feature of his *Violinschule*.²⁷⁷ Yet, this dream of Enlightenment, the excerpted section continues, has been undone by reality: 'One joins in the mockery [of superstition], where this is the reigning fashion, and stays seduced or seducing *Schwärmer* in his most secret bed chamber, as I saw [many] examples'. To this excerpt Leopold added his own comment: 'a word of the times, *fiat applicatio*'. Written in 1786, the year of publication of volume 3 in the Troppau edition, or 1787, the year of Leopold's death, this note shows how the elderly Leopold felt resigned in his last year in respect to the bold dream of reason enlightening the world, a dream that he himself was dreaming thirty years before when publishing the *Violinschule*.²⁷⁸

found in Leopold Mozart's copy of Meinrad Spiess's treatise. Viktor Keldorfer owned this volume until the late 1950s and he made photocopies of all three notes for the ISM. This is documented in a letter by Viktor Keldorfer addressed to Ernst Fritz Schmid, dated 2 March 1957, which is deposited in the archives of the ISM.

²⁷⁶ The letter is published in Moses Mendelssohn, *Briefwechsel III*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Stuttgart, 1977), 221–3.

²⁷⁷ See Chapter 2.3.

²⁷⁸ For a full transcript of Leopold's excerpt from Zimmermann's work, see Appendix J.

Chapter 4 *Empfindsamkeit* in Salzburg

The expression: a sentimental man, has acquired a very noble meaning in the German language. It signifies the excellent and tender state of the mind, the heart and the senses, by which a person discerns quickly and strongly his duties and by which he feels a potent drive to do good deeds.¹

Carl Daniel Küster's definition of *Empfindsamkeit* from his *Sittliches Erziehungs-Lexicon* makes it clear that in the eighteenth century *Empfindsamkeit* was a human capacity, a highly valued human disposition. In its classification of *Empfindsamkeit* as a capacity of the soul, which actually provides the fertile soil for good moral conduct, Küster conformed to most contemporary definitions of the term. Adelung, for example, defined *Empfindsamkeit* as 'the capability to be moved easily and to experience soft sentiments'.² In 1783, Ludwig Julius Friedrich Höpfner's *Deutsche Encyclopädie* characterised *Empfindsamkeit* as 'the facility to perceive tender moral sentiments'.³ Therefore, a 'certain degree of *Empfindsamkeit* towards the beautiful and the good is indispensable for the moral improvement of mankind'.⁴

Empfindsamkeit was not an artistic style per se, be it musical or literary, as the term is occasionally used today.⁵ Yet, the fine arts, literature and music were areas, in which this capacity of the human soul could best be displayed and through which this capacity could be taught and refined. Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* states that 'just as cognition is the ultimate purpose of philosophy or science as a whole, the arts are aimed at the sentiment'.⁶ This statement in the article on '*Empfindung*' expressed a common aesthetic theory of the time that *Empfindung* was the central domain of the arts and of music in particular.⁷ Because

¹ 'Der Ausdruck: ein empfindsamer Mensch, hat in der deutschen Sprache eine sehr edel Bedeutung gewonnen. Es bezeichnet: die vortrefliche und zärtliche Beschaffenheit des Verstandes, des Herzens und der Sinnen, durch welche ein Mensch geschwinde und starke Einsichten von seinen Pflichten bekömmt, und einen würksamen Trieb fühlet, Gutes zu thun.' Carl Daniel Küster, *Sittliches Erziehungs-Lexicon* (Magdeburg, Scheidhauer, 1774), 47.

² Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, i, col.1800.

³ Ludwig Julius Friedrich Höpfner, ed., *Deutsche Encyclopädie oder Allgemeines Real-Wörterbuch aller Künste und Wissenschaften*, viii (Frankfurt, Varrentrapp, 1783), 340.

⁴ Höpfner, *Deutsche Encyclopädie*, viii, 340.

⁵ For a summary of this misunderstanding of 'sensibility' or '*Empfindsamkeit*' during the last century, see Matthew Head, 'Fantasia and sensibility', *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford, 2014), 263–4.

⁶ Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, i (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1771), 311.

⁷ See e.g. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Ueber die Theorie der Musik* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1777), 25; Johann Adam Hiller, ed., *Ueber die Musik und deren Wirkungen* (Leipzig, Jacobäer, 1781), page XI; Francesco Algarotti, *Versuche über die Architectur, Mahlerey und musicalische*

the arts played a central role in refining sensibility, they acquired a vital importance for society, instead of being mere pleasantries of life.

While *Empfindsamkeit* as such was seen as a valuable capacity, which should be encouraged and cultivated,⁸ the dangers of a too radical, an excessive sensibility were articulated by theorists throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, too.⁹ *Empfindsamkeit* was publicly encouraged and promoted in school books, philosophical treatises and fictional writings, but only to a certain degree. Intellectual reasoning and also bodily exercise should balance a too sensitive nervous system.¹⁰

This did not mean that reason and sensibility were regarded as opponents in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, reason and sensibility were both capabilities of the human soul that were central to an enlightenment of mankind. Philosophers defined intellectual reasoning and the act of *empfinden* as 'the twofold faculty of the soul'.¹¹ Intellectual cognition was the area of the higher faculty of the soul, whereas *Empfindung* was the domain of the lower faculty of the soul. While thoughts and reason were clear and distinct impressions on the soul, *Empfindung* could be obscure and multifarious.¹²

The modern confusion that the social and aesthetic ideal of *Empfindsamkeit* was a backlash against a rational culture of Enlightenment and not a fundamental part of the Enlightenment has several reasons. There is a historical reason, as the focus on sensibility as a positive faculty of the soul was a fairly short-lived one. This can best be seen in the etymology of the word '*empfindsam*' and its corresponding noun '*Empfindsamkeit*'. These words only came into common use during the later half of the eighteenth century.¹³ Lessing is often credited with their invention by suggesting the adjective '*empfindsam*' as translation of the English word 'sentimental' to Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, who was translating Laurence Sterne's novel *A sentimental*

Opera (Kassel, Hemmerde, 1769), 151; and Gotthilf Samuel Steinbart, *Grundbegriffe zur Philosophie über den Geschmack* (Züllichau, Frommann, 1785), 3.

⁸ See e.g. Johann August Eberhard, *Über den Werth der Empfindsamkeit* (Halle, Gebauer, 1786); or Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Ueber Empfindsamkeit und Empfinderei in pädagogischer Hinsicht* (Hamburg, Herold, 1779).

⁹ For the extended discussions on the negative consequences of sensibility in the eighteenth century, see Gerhard Sauder, 'Empfindsamkeit – Sublimierte Sexualität', *Empfindsamkeiten*, ed. Klaus P. Hansen (Passau, 1990), 167.

¹⁰ See e.g. Campe, *Ueber Empfindsamkeit und Empfinderei*, 20; or Eberhard, *Über den Werth der Empfindsamkeit*, 130–1.

¹¹ Eberhard, *Allgemeine Theorie des Denkens und Empfindens*, 14.

¹² Johann Christoph Adelung, *Ueber den Deutschen Styl*, i (Berlin, Voß, 1785), 2.

¹³ See Jacob Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, iii (Leipzig, 1862), 432.

Journey in the 1760s.¹⁴ Already towards the end of the eighteenth century it became common-place to denigrate and ridicule *Empfindsamkeit* as social concept, accusing it of effeminacy and sentimentality in today's sense of the word.¹⁵ Thus within thirty years, the original ideal of sensibility had turned into emotionalism – and sentiments had become artificial conventions. The idea of sensibility never quite recovered from this downturn in our perception.

This is linked to the confusion of the personal, enlightened use of reason with blind intellectualism which was attacked by enlightenment philosophers.¹⁶ One of the most potent tools to attack intellectualism was the rehabilitation of the senses and of nature, which according to Panagiotis Kondylis was the defining feature of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century.¹⁷ An antagonism was proposed between intellectualism and empiricism, between mathematical deduction and experimentation. Enlightenment thinkers turned against intellectualism and abstract deduction by appealing to the personal cognition and to personal sensibility. Thus cognition and sensibility were both perceived as means to overcome the old school of dogmatism. It is only with the gradual denigration of sensibility in our perception and the confusion of intellectualism and personal reasoning that a polarity between sensibility and the rational Enlightenment came into existence, but in the eighteenth century sensibility was a means to attack blind intellectualism and not enlightened reason.

For most philosophers in the eighteenth century, reason and sensibility had to go hand in hand in the quest to improve mankind. Since reason and sensibility were both seen as capacities which helped moral conduct, they both had to be taught and refined by education. This educational ideal was propagated within the Protestant regions of Germany by authors such as Joachim Heinrich Campe, Johann August Eberhard, Johann Georg Sulzer or Christian Gotthilf Salzmann. Campe's main treatises on sensibility *Die Empfindungs- und Erkenntnißkraft der menschlichen Seele* and *Ueber Empfindsamkeit und Empfinderei in pädagogischer Hinsicht*, both advocated such a two-fold education of mankind refining the head and the heart, cognition

¹⁴ This course of events is confirmed in Bode's preface to Laurence Sterne, *Yoricks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien*, trans. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, i (Hamburg, Cramer, 1769), page III. Yet, the word has been in use before, even though not as widespread.

¹⁵ See e.g. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* (Leipzig, Göschen, 1787); *Das in Deutschland so sehr überhand genommene Uebel der sogenannten Empfindsamkeit* (Freiberg, Reinhold, 1782); or Justus Möser, *Patriotische Phantasien*, 3 vols. (Berlin, Nicolai, 1775–8).

¹⁶ For a detailed account of this confusion, see Kondylis, *Die Aufklärung*, 309–42.

¹⁷ Kondylis, *Die Aufklärung*, 19–20.

and sensibility.¹⁸ Eberhard devoted one third of his *Allgemeine Theorie des Denkens und Empfindens* to a chapter titled 'On the education of the mind and the heart through the capacity of cognition and sensibility'.¹⁹ A decade later Eberhard followed up this work with a treatise on the value of sensibility.²⁰ Salzmann published the first volume of his educational book *Moralisches Elementarbuch* in 1782 and in the preface he stated that moral conduct, the ultimate aim of his educational endeavours, was dependent on cognitive understanding and sensibility.²¹

Until now, such views on education were perceived as phenomena rooted exclusively in North Germany. Yet, as seen above in Chapter 1, Eberhard's and Campe's writings were available on the Salzburg book market. While these philosophical and educational treatises possibly only reached a relatively small audience in Salzburg, the broad currency of popular novels and educational literature for the youth written in this style documents a general acceptance or at least interest in the two-fold education of the mind and the heart by the Salzburg public. In the following, the currency of *Empfindsamkeit* as social and aesthetic ideal within Salzburg society will be looked upon from three angles.

Chapter 4.1 will draw attention to some local educational books printed in Salzburg during the 1770s and 1780s, which also postulated this ideal of educating the heart as well as the mind. Chapter 4.2 will trace aspects of a 'cult of friendship' within Salzburg society by describing some local portrait collections and the 'hill of friendship' at the garden of Aigen near Salzburg. In Chapter 4.3 I will turn to theatre life in Salzburg in the 1770s: the play lists, the critical reception in the *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg* and a performance of Johann Heinrich Rolle's *Der Tod Abels* in Salzburg document the ubiquity of *Empfindsamkeit* within this context. The Mozart family and their links with and attitudes to some of the people and phenomena described in this chapter come into focus in Chapter 4.4.

¹⁸ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Die Empfindungs- und Erkenntnißkraft der menschlichen Seele* (Leipzig, Weygand, 1776); and Campe, *Ueber Empfindsamkeit und Empfindelei*.

¹⁹ 'Von der Bildung des Verstandes und des Herzens durch die Erkenntniß- und Empfindungskraft.' Eberhard, *Allgemeine Theorie des Denkens und Empfindens*, 168–255.

²⁰ Eberhard, *Über den Werth der Empfindsamkeit*.

²¹ Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, *Moralisches Elementarbuch*, i (Leipzig, Crusius, 1782), page III–V.

4.1 Educating *Empfindsamkeit* in Salzburg

Sensibility is a capacity of the soul, by which any sensual impression on it will be enhanced. Acute, excitable senses and a lively, fiery phantasy constitute sensibility. It is the foundation for a good character, it makes great minds, soft, kind-hearted, noble souls, which are happy in themselves and which make [others] happy, as long as reason keeps reign on their senses and phantasy.²²

The Salzburg professor of law Philipp Gäng wrote this definition of *Empfindsamkeit* in his treatise called *Aesthetik oder allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften*, published by the *Waisenhaus* in Salzburg in 1785.²³ In the preface to this book Gäng states that he relied on the ‘excellent treatises by [Johann August] Eberhard, [Johann Joachim] Eschenburg and [Johann Christoph] König’.²⁴ Thus it is no surprise that the work resonates with many of the ideas on *Empfindsamkeit* described above. Its value as human capacity, which provides the foundation of a happy and moral life, echoes Küster’s ideas and also the dangers of an excessive *Empfindsamkeit* are mentioned outright.

Closely following Eberhard, Gäng classifies the faculties of the human soul into a higher and a lower faculty. Just as in Eberhard’s theories, Gäng’s work states that the soul acquires ‘its sensuous and indistinct impressions’ via these lower faculties, which can be separated into two categories: the senses and the imagination.²⁵ For Gäng it is in the education of the lower faculties of the soul, in the refinement of sensibility and imagination, that the arts and the study of aesthetics play a crucial role. In the preface to his treatise, Gäng stresses the importance of studies in aesthetics for the education of sensibility:

Therefore the study of aesthetics, or of the general theory of the fine arts, is one of the most important studies, by which the sensuous man will be educated and by which he will be enabled to feel warmly true beauty.²⁶

²² ‘**Empfindsamkeit** ist eine Eigenschaft der Seele, vermöge welcher jede sinnliche Kraft einen stärkern Eindruck auf sie macht. Feine, reizbare Sinne, und eine lebhaft, feurige Phantasie erzeugen die Empfindsamkeit. Sie ist die Anlage zu einem guten Charakter, und sie macht große Geister, weiche, gutherzige, edle Seelen, die selbst glücklich sind, und glückliche machen, so lange ihre Vernunft über die Sinne und Phantasie die Herrschaft behauptet.’ Philipp Gäng, *Aesthetik oder allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1785), 63.

²³ For a biography of Philipp Gäng, see Baader, *Das gelehrte Baiern*, col.360–2.

²⁴ Gäng, *Aesthetik*, preface [unpaginated].

²⁵ Gäng, *Aesthetik*, 60.

²⁶ ‘Es ist also das Studium der Aesthetik, oder der allgemeinen Theorie der schönen Künste, wodurch der sinnliche Mensch ausgebildet, und zum warmen Gefühl des wahrhaft Schönen fähig gemacht wird, eines der beträchtlichsten Studien.’ Gäng, *Aesthetik*, preface.

While Gäng wrote his treatise for university students, a copy of Johann Georg Sulzer's *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens* at the *Salzburg Museum* demonstrates that such an 'education of the heart' was not just a theoretical, philosophical discussion within academia.²⁷ Sulzer's work is conceived in order to further 'attentiveness, accuracy of observation, reasoning, judgement of the truth and finally the sensing of the beautiful and good', as these are 'fundamental capacities of the soul'.²⁸ A dedication attached to the front of the volume at the *Salzburg Museum* states that Sulzer's book was awarded to 'Fräulein Anna von Mayern' by her school teacher in November 1778, as 'second prize in the German language class'. Presumably, this pupil was Maria Anna Mayr von Mayrn, called Nannerl, who was born around 1768²⁹ and who took piano lessons with her namesake Nannerl Mozart in the 1770s.³⁰ In addition to providing a glimpse into Salzburg schooling in 1778, Sulzer's book is noteworthy because it is printed by the local *Waisenhaus* printing press. Apparently, demand for this work was high enough to merit a local reprint, or the book was even part of the official school curriculum in the 1770s: after all, the *Waisenhaus* press was the official printing press of the court and the university.

The *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit* was another local educational publication that appeared anonymously in Salzburg at the *Waisenhaus* printing press in 1777. The book aimed to educate 'the mind and the heart' and ultimately 'to impart noble sentiments' in the youth.³¹ The work is structured in three parts: the first gives a general introduction on and definition of virtue, the second is concerned with the body and physical health, while the third and largest part of the book deals with the capacities of the soul. Within this third section only 17 pages are devoted to rational cognition,³² whereas 164 pages describe the 'capacities of the heart', making this section by far the most substantial part of the book.³³ This strong emphasis on the education of the heart is mirrored in the statement that 'the education of the heart must always precede before educating the mind'.³⁴

²⁷ Johann Georg Sulzer, *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, s.d.) [A-Sca, 11159].

²⁸ Sulzer, *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit*, page III.

²⁹ See *SchidenhofenDiary*, 8.

³⁰ See e.g. *NannerlDiary*, 36–50.

³¹ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit der Jugend und dem Jugendfreunde gewidmet* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1777), pages III–VI.

³² *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 70–87.

³³ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 87–252.

³⁴ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 72–3.

For the author, the arts and an understanding of aesthetics constitute a powerful educational value regarding both faculties of the soul, further blurring the distinction between cognition and sensibility:

The fine arts are of the utmost importance in improving the mind and the effort put into their study will not remain without manifold rewards. Good taste is also a high value. It teaches us to sense the beautiful in all arts and sciences. [...] The aim of the fine arts is to entertain us in a beneficial fashion and to teach us sensibility regarding the noble or the [good] taste.³⁵

The circular reasoning in this section is striking, as good taste has to be learned to discern the beautiful in the arts and at the same time it is improved by the fine arts. Yet, never mind the inconsistencies of the argument, these sentences prove the importance put on the fine arts in the education of the capacities of the soul. The anonymous author goes even so far as to state that 'the corrupted taste has an influence on the morals [and] the good taste has an influence on the heart'.³⁶ Ultimately, it is sensibility that needs to be refined so as to enable the youth 'to sense the beautiful immediately'.³⁷

Furthermore, the *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit* recommends specific readings, which help to educate the aesthetic sensibility. Many writings from classical antiquity by Aristotle, Horace or Quintilian are among the recommendations, but also the works of Charles Rollin, Batteux's *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* in the edition by Ramler, or the author Alexander Pope, who unites 'the laurels of a poet and the ivy of an art critic'.³⁸

The book provides a guide to assemble a private 'critical library' on the fine arts.³⁹ On the subject of painting the recommendations include Christian Ludwig Hagedorn's and Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings. Regarding musical treatises, the reader is admonished to consult Lessing's *Theatralische Bibliothek* for a comprehensive listing of musical writings. Presumably, this refers to Lessing's translation of Jean-Baptiste Dubos's *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*,

³⁵ 'Die schönen Künste tragen zur Verbesserung des Verstandes am meisten bey, und der Fleiß den man auf sie wendet, kommt nicht ohne vielfältige Belohnung zurück. Zu diesen Gütern gehört auch der Geschmack. Er lernt uns das Schöne in allen Künsten und Wissenschaften zu empfinden. [...] Die Absicht der schönen Künste ist, uns auf nützliche Art zu vergnügen, und uns eine Empfindung des Feinen, oder den Geschmack beyzubringen.' *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 73.

³⁶ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 78.

³⁷ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 74.

³⁸ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 85.

³⁹ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 85–6.

which Lessing publishes in the third volume of the *Theatralische Bibliothek* in 1755.⁴⁰ The first four chapters of this work deal with the 'music of the ancients' and they provide a plethora of citations from classical writers on music and music theory. In addition, the *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit* names some more recent musical authors of importance, as Scheibe, Marpurg, Agricola and Christian Gottfried Krause.⁴¹

Many books are recommended to the reader in other parts of this educational treatise, too. In a chapter discussing 'the general ways to achieve, to protect and to increase virtue',⁴² the importance of good company is stressed emphatically. For the author, good company does not only apply to people, whom one mixes with, but also to books:

The company of writings does also count as part of the [good] company, which all people can have. By this I understand such writings, which affect our heart, which teach us the beauty of nature [...], such writings, in which the duties of man are presented beautifully.⁴³

To this a list of 'excellent authors' and their works is added: Johann Joachim Spalding's *Betrachtung über die Bestimmung des Menschen*, Gellert's moral writings, Johann Bernhard Basedow's *Praktische Philosophie für alle Stände* and Jean Henri Samuel Formey's *Le philosophe chrétien*.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the poetry by Rabener, Haller, Hagedorn, Young and Gellert is recommended warmly as 'good company', as well as Richardson's epistolary novels *The History of Charles Grandison* and *Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady*.⁴⁵ In fact, the author believes that if 'a lady has read *Clarissa* first, she will never read a bad novel'.⁴⁶ In summary, 'the daily use of such excellent writings is very beneficial aliment for the youth [and] one will read such writings most profitably in the mornings, when the soul, rejuvenated from sleep, is still cheerful'.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Theatralische Bibliothek*, iii (Berlin, Voß, 1755).

⁴¹ See *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 86.

⁴² *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 10.

⁴³ 'Zu den Umgang wird auch gerechnet der Umgang mit Schriften, den alle Menschen haben können. Ich verstehe aber den Umgang mit solchen Schriften, die auf das Herz wirken, die uns die Schönheit der Natur lehren [...], solche Schriften, in welchen die Pflichten den Menschen schön vorgetragen werden.' *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 36-7.

⁴⁴ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 37-8.

⁴⁵ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 39.

⁴⁶ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 75.

⁴⁷ *Anleitung zur Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit*, 38.

4.2 Salzburg and the 'cult of friendship'

Mankind, do learn to sweeten your life,
and let friendship overflow your heart,
this sweet fount of the soul!
It flows not only for these short times,
but will be a rivulet for all eternity
that refreshingly pours forth into your soul.⁴⁸

The penultimate strophe from Gellert's ode to friendship reiterates a widely accepted belief of the eighteenth century that sees friendship as quintessential for happiness and transcending the limitations of the world. The glorification of friendship during the eighteenth century was ubiquitous and thus the century has also been termed the 'century of friendship'.⁴⁹ The ideal of true friendship was exalted in countless poems and novels, in pictures and statues. Letter writing, and as a literary genre the epistolary novel, were means to act out true friendships undisturbed by geographical distances, a pristine meeting of kindred souls. The author Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim was particularly defining for this 'cult of friendship' and his writings were widely read in Salzburg. Gleim did not only glorify friendship in his writings, but he also cultivated this ideal of friendship in his life.⁵⁰ At his home in Halberstadt he turned the main room into a 'temple of friendship', where he hung portraits of his friends on the walls in order to envision their spiritual presence.⁵¹ Among these 'friends' were not just people he knew personally, but also luminaries of his age, whom he had not met, writers and artists from the past and figures from classical mythology. Thus, just as in Gellert's ode, friendship was not limited to one's lifetime. Neither was it dependent on personal encounters or the physical presence of the friend. Gleim might be one of the most prominent portrait collectors of his time, but in the later eighteenth century portrait collecting 'was passionately pursued by the members of the intellectual and upper

⁴⁸ 'Mensch, lerne doch dein Leben dir versüssen, / und laß dein Herz von Freundschaft überflüssen, / Der süßen Quelle für den Geist! / Sie quillt nicht bloß für diese kurzen Zeiten; / Sie wird ein Bach, der sich in Ewigkeiten / Erquickend durch die Seel ergeußt.' Verse 17 from Gellert's ode *Die Freundschaft* in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Sammlung vermischter Schriften*, i (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1756), 64. I am grateful to Ms. Veronika Klepper, who provided valuable assistance with the translation of these verses.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Ute Pott, ed., *Das Jahrhundert der Freundschaft* (Göttingen, 2004).

⁵⁰ For a detailed account of Gleim's friendships, see Beat Hanselmann, *Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim und seine Freundschaften* (Bern, 1989).

⁵¹ For further information on Gleim's 'temple of friendship' and reproductions of all surviving portraits, see Horst Scholke, ed., *Der Freundschaftstempel im Gleimhaus zu Halberstadt* (Leipzig, 2000).

middle classes in Germany' and 'a collection of portraits was an important demonstration of education, social status, and means' in general.⁵²

Among the musicians of the time, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach owned a particularly comprehensive collection of portraits.⁵³ An eyewitness to this collection is Charles Burney, who visited Bach at his home in Hamburg. After arrival, Bach lead him upstairs 'into a large and elegant music room, furnished with pictures, drawings, and prints of more than a hundred and fifty eminent musicians'.⁵⁴ Bach's portrait collection had the same intention and a similar build-up as Gleim's: the portraits situated the artist within the history and the tradition of music and they evoked the spiritual presence of friends and colleagues. Just as at Gleim's home, Bach's collection included members of his family and colleagues whom he knew well, such as Johann Joachim Quantz and Georg Benda, but also musicians of earlier times and mythological figures. Portraits of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso and Michael Praetorius were at his home and also images of Thomas Selle and Samuel Scheidt. Figures from classical mythology gathered in his music room included Apollo, Juno and Jove, pictured as the father of the Graces. Salzburg composers were present, too: a picture of Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber and the engraving of the family portrait of the Mozarts by Delafosse. Bach also owned a silhouette of '*Herr Mozard. Componist*': it is not entirely clear, whether this silhouette is a depiction of Leopold or Wolfgang Mozart. Yet, Annette Richards points out that the collection of 'musical silhouettes', which includes Mozart's silhouette, features mainly younger composers⁵⁵ and thus she identifies the silhouette as being Wolfgang's.⁵⁶ If the silhouette depicted Wolfgang, then it was likely to be either the portrait engraved by Heinrich Philipp Carl Bossler in Speyer in 1784 or the one by Hieronymus Löschenkohl in Vienna in 1785.⁵⁷

⁵² Annette Richards, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Portraits, and the Physiognomy of Music History', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lxvi/2 (2013), 337.

⁵³ See the detailed reconstruction of the portrait collection in Annette Richards, ed., 'Portrait Collection', *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach : Complete Works*, VIII/4 (Los Altos, 2012).

⁵⁴ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, ii (London, Becket, 1773), 268.

⁵⁵ Richards, 'Portrait Collection', 199.

⁵⁶ Richards, 'Portrait Collection', 203.

⁵⁷ For a reproduction of these silhouettes, see *DeutschBilder*, 18. Deutsch erroneously gives '1795' as date for Bossler's silhouette. Hans Schneider documented that the portrait was available as early as 1784, as part of Bossler's series *Schattenrisse berühmter Tonsetzer*, see Hans Schneider, *Der Musikverleger Heinrich Philipp Bossler 1744 – 1812* (Tutzing, 1985), 105–6.

4.2.1 Collecting portraits and silhouettes in eighteenth-century Salzburg

The rich collection of portraits of Salzburg citizens at the *Salzburg Museum* gives an impression of the ubiquity of personal portraits and silhouettes in late eighteenth-century Salzburg and it documents the wide spread practice of having self-portraits painted for members of all strata of Salzburg society. The museum has around 150 portraits from that time and the sitters for two thirds of these portraits are identifiable.⁵⁸ The diversity of the sitters' social backgrounds is striking: they include members of the higher and the lower nobility, but also merchants, doctors, university professors, teachers and craftsmen, such as brewer, butcher and bookbinder. From the Mozarts' closer circle of friends and acquaintances, there are portraits of the couple Schidenhofen,⁵⁹ of the medics Peter Anton Agliardi⁶⁰ and Johann Prex,⁶¹ who was a member of the Mozarts' shooting company, and of Leopold's student Josef Wölfl.⁶² The court medic Silvester Barisani had his portrait painted by Nepomuk della Croce and there are also oil portraits of his wife Theresia and their son Joseph.⁶³

Among the silhouettes within the collection of the *Salzburg Museum* there is one of Theresia Barisani⁶⁴ and three silhouettes show members of the Mölk family painted in ink, probably depicting Franz Felix Anton, Anna (nee Wasener) and Maria Barbara von Mölk.⁶⁵ Franz Felix Anton von Mölk's silhouette might be the one which Schidenhofen made in 1776, when he noted in his diary that he painted Ferdinand Geyer von Geyern and Franz von Mölk 'in silhouette'.⁶⁶ A silhouette of the father Albert von Mölk is among his estate papers at the *Landesarchiv Salzburg*⁶⁷ and a silhouette of Ursula Hagenauer, the third daughter of Lorenz Hagenauer, survives at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.⁶⁸ As the example of Schidenhofen shows, painting silhouettes was a simple pastime for him, an art that could be learned by anyone. The bookshop Mayr sold a concise treatise on cutting silhouettes

⁵⁸ For an introduction to and descriptions of portraits in this collection, see Albin Rohrmoser, ed., *Katalog zur Ausstellung Salzburg zur Zeit der Mozart* (Salzburg, 1991), 69–103.

⁵⁹ [A-Sca, 110a/42 (G 2102)] and [A-Sca, 110b/42 (G 2101)].

⁶⁰ [A-Sca, 2906/49 (G 2147)].

⁶¹ [A-Sca, 1/41 (G 2145)].

⁶² [A-Sca, 271/49 (G 2056)].

⁶³ For reproductions of these portraits, see *DeutschBilder*, 44–5.

⁶⁴ [A-Sca, 1994/49].

⁶⁵ These silhouettes are catalogued under the shelfmarks [A-Sca, 4976/49], [A-Sca, 4977/49] & [A-Sca, 4978/49]. For reproductions of these silhouettes, see *DeutschBilder*, 47. For descriptions of these silhouettes, see Rohrmoser, *Katalog zur Ausstellung Salzburg zur Zeit der Mozart*, 99.

⁶⁶ *SchidenhofenDiary*, 141.

⁶⁷ For a reproduction of this silhouette, see *DeutschBilder*, 47.

⁶⁸ For a reproduction of this silhouette, see *DeutschBilder*, 42.

by Friedrich Christoph Müller and the preface to Müller's treatise extols the values of painting and analysing silhouettes as a means to get to know humans, because the physiognomy of a silhouette is more accurate than any verbal description of the person.⁶⁹ Mayr also sold printed frames for holding silhouettes and printed silhouettes of famous people.

Franz Lactanz Firmian, the *Obersthofmeister* at the court, owned the most important portrait collection in eighteenth-century Salzburg.⁷⁰ His 'rich collection of portraits of artists, mostly drawn by themselves'⁷¹ very much resembles Gleim's 'temple of friendship' in Halberstadt or Bach's portrait collection in Hamburg. A catalogue of the portraits at Firmian's home *Schloss Leopoldskron* is included in Johann Bernoulli's large collection of travel stories *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*.⁷² According to this travelogue, the 'highly noteworthy' collection contained 248 portraits, 'all painted by the depicted artists themselves'.⁷³ Presumably, this meant original self-portraits in the artists' hands as well as faithful copies of such self-portraits. The so-called 'Painter's Gallery' featured portraits by local artists such as Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni, Johann Nepomuk della Croce, Martino and Bartolomeo Altomonte, but many other luminaries from close by or far away, from ancient or recent times were also assembled, as for example portraits by Rubens (two), Rembrandt, Dürer, Raphael (three) and Tiepolo. Lorenz Hübner describing the castle in 1792, six years after Firmian's death, counted even 287 self-portraits by artists in the portrait gallery in addition to 508 'small portraits' painted by Firmian himself.⁷⁴ While the portraits in the 'painters' gallery' provided a context and history, in which Firmian wanted to situate himself, the 'small portraits' in Firmian's hand depict mostly people from his social network in Salzburg. As mentioned above, one of these 'small portraits' probably shows the young Leopold Mozart with his violin.⁷⁵

Another portrait collection was part of Karl Maria Ehrenbert von Moll's stately home in Nonntal. Moll was an important statesman and a natural scientist with particular interest in geology and mining, who had contact with many natural

⁶⁹ Friedrich Christoph Müller, *Anweisung zum Silhouettenzeichnen und zur Kunst sie zu verjüngen* (Röhmhild, Brückner, 1779), 9–10.

⁷⁰ For more information on Franz Lactanz Firmian, his erudition and his portrait collection, see Chapter 1.1.1.

⁷¹ Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 204.

⁷² Bernoulli, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*, xii, 225–30. This report from Salzburg is actually written by Karl Ehrenbert von Moll.

⁷³ Bernoulli, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen*, xii, 225.

⁷⁴ Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 433.

⁷⁵ For a reproduction of the drawing, see *DeutschBilder*, 28.

scientists across Europe.⁷⁶ His Salzburg home housed an important collection of natural exhibits and the stones, animals and flowers drew such important visitors as Alexander Humboldt. In addition, there was also a 'folklore room' in his house, where costumes, crafts and customs were shown in material exhibits and pictures. One of the walls of this chamber was devoted to portraits of famous Salzburg inhabitants from the fifteenth until the late eighteenth century, some of them were oil paintings others copper engravings.⁷⁷ In addition to these portraits of local sitters, Moll's estate included a tremendous number of engraved portraits: 62 volumes of such engravings are listed and beyond that another 66,200 single sheets with copper engravings.⁷⁸ While some of these might have been acquired after Moll left Salzburg in 1805, the abovementioned room with portraits of Salzburg luminaries shows that he harboured a particular interest in portraiture already during his time in the archbishopric.

4.2.2 The 'hill of friendship' at the garden in Aigen

There was no portrait collection in Salzburg explicitly termed 'temple of friendship', as Gleim's living room in Halberstadt, but a hill in a garden in Aigen was known as 'the hill of friendship'. Since antiquity, gardens were a favourite backdrop for 'friendship' in many ways⁷⁹ and this connection between refined nature and true friendship flourished during the late eighteenth century.⁸⁰ Gardening and in particular the new 'English-style' gardens were closely linked to the ideals of friendship and of sensibility. Such English gardens promised the perfect illusion of untouched nature enhanced in its beauty by human landscaping.

⁷⁶ For a biography of Karl Maria Ehrenbert von Moll, see Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, xix, 2–10. For information on Moll's scientific network, see Robert Hoffmann, 'Wissenstransfer durch Netzwerkbildung : Karl Ehrenbert von Moll und die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Landeskunde im Erzstift Salzburg', *Orte des Wissens*, ed. Martin Scheutz (Bochum, 2004), 135–51. A large selection of Moll's correspondence is published in Karl Ehrenbert von Moll, *Mittheilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel*, 4 vols. (s.l., s.n., 1829–34).

⁷⁷ See Anton von Schallhammer, 'Karl Maria Ehrenbert Freiherr von Moll, erzbischöflich-salzburgischer Geheimrath und Hofkammer-Direktor', *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, v (1865), supplement, 27–8.

⁷⁸ See Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, xix, 4.

⁷⁹ See Barbara Sturzenegger, *Kürbishütte und Caspische See* (Bern, 1996), 129–46.

⁸⁰ Gleim also set up a garden in the outskirts of Halberstadt. See Wolfgang Adam, 'Freundschaft und Geselligkeit im 18. Jahrhundert', *Der Freundschaftstempel im Gleimhaus zu Halberstadt*, 26; and more generally Wolfgang Kehn, "'Schönheiten der Natur gemeinschaftlich betrachten." Zum Zusammenhang von Freundschaft, ästhetischer Naturerfahrung und "Gartenrevolution" in der Spätaufklärung', *Frauenfreundschaft – Männerfreundschaft*, ed. Wolfram Mauser (Tübingen, 1991), 167–93.

Correspondingly, friendship was viewed as the ultimate refinement of the natural sociability of mankind.

In the eighteenth century two picturesque gardens were built at the village of Aigen outside Salzburg upstream to the South, which later were united into a single site.⁸¹ Both gardens were exceptionally elaborate in their configuration. One of them was erected by Count Anton Willibald von Wolfegg und Waldsee. He bought the land in 1783⁸² and turned it into 'the most charming' garden.⁸³ Wolfegg's garden, quite possibly made to his own plans,⁸⁴ was less of an English landscape garden than an Arcadian retreat for the count and his friends. The garden consisted of an array of orchards and fields, of meadows and flowerbeds. A hermitage and a grave-mound were situated within the garden, as well as a little green house and a vineyard.⁸⁵ According to Friedrich von Spaur, the garden, which he describes as 'picturesque' and 'romantic',⁸⁶ 'invites the stroller, who walks along full of sentiment, [...] to contemplate the graceful nature and his own being'.⁸⁷

The other more famous garden was connected to the castle of Aigen and belonged to Johann Ernst Antretter from 1760 until 1775, when Basil von Amann bought the estate. A lively friendship linked the Antretter family with the Mozarts and the letters as well as Nannerl's diary document frequent reciprocal visits and communal music making. Furthermore, during the 1770s Nannerl taught the piano to Elisabeth Maria Antretter, one of the daughters of the family, and Wolfgang composed the 'Antretter-Serenade' (K185) for the family, probably to mark the graduation of one of the sons of the house in 1773.⁸⁸ Even though the garden in Aigen is not explicitly mentioned in the documents, it is likely that the Mozarts were familiar with this place.

A plan of the estate drawn up by Mathias Pock in 1775, presumably for the sale of the estate to Amann, shows that by that point a picturesque English garden was

⁸¹ For a detailed history of these two gardens, see Inge Maria Harlander, *Der Park zu Aigen* (dissertation, Universität Salzburg, 2003).

⁸² See Harlander, *Der Park zu Aigen*, 53.

⁸³ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 38.

⁸⁴ His interest and skill in architecture and gardening are expressly mentioned in his necrology. See *Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg* [A-Sae, 1/41-21].

⁸⁵ See Harlander, *Der Park zu Aigen*, 58–63.

⁸⁶ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 36.

⁸⁷ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 39. Although Spaur's description is only published in 1805, he confirms that Wolfegg's garden had been kept in its original design, since Wolfegg sold the garden to count Lodron in 1788. See Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 36.

⁸⁸ For more information regarding the Antretter family and their relationship with the Mozarts, see Heinz Schuler, *Mozarts Salzburger Freunde und Bekannte* (Wilhelmshaven, 2004), 202–10.

already established at the site. In the middle of the plan lies the castle with some smaller houses and a formal garden laid out in geometrical shapes. At the back of the castle there is a forest landscaped into an English garden. A large circular walk leads around the garden and several paths crisscrossing the forest are visible, too (see Figure 14).

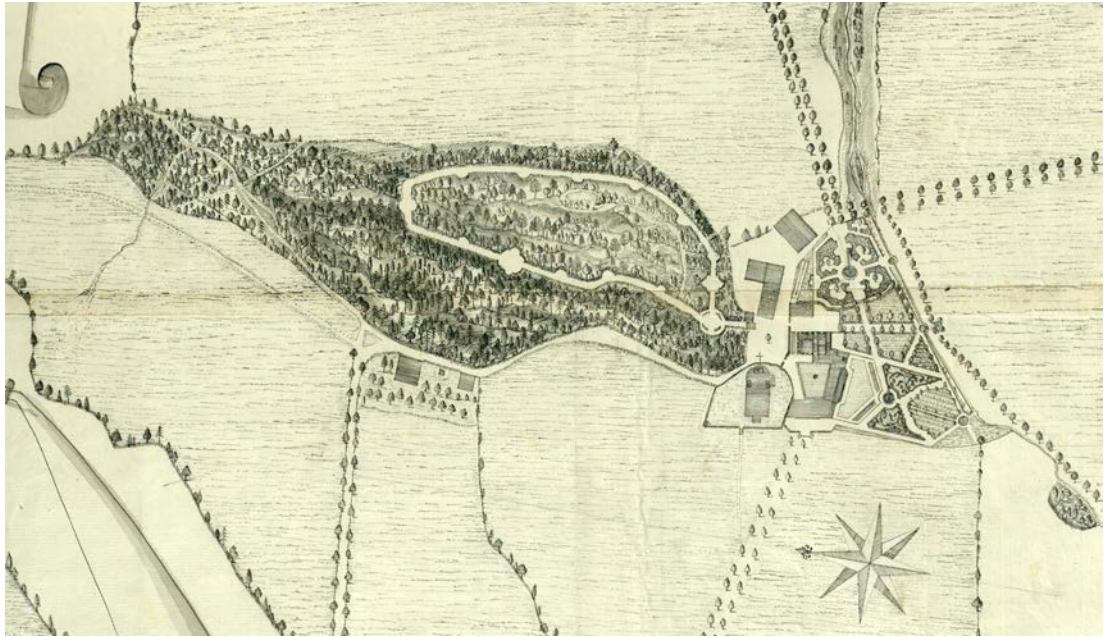


Figure 14: Mathias Pock, *Plan des Gutes Aigen* (1775) – detail of the castle and landscape garden [A-Sla, Karten und Risse, I 20].

A hill within this landscape came to be known as ‘the hill of friendship’ during the 1780s at the latest, complete with an altar dedicated to friendship at its peak. Lorenz Hübner described this hill vividly in form of a fictive stroll through the garden:

[One] ascends on a particularly pleasing hill garlanded with a copse of beech trees and generally known as ‘the hill of friendship’, which friends of the former, now deceased owner Basil von Amman once turned into one of the most charming groves, equipped with comfortable paths, resting places, some charming glories and lawns; there are here and there even some plates with German poems fitting the surrounding and on its highest part there is an altar of friendship (*Amicitiae sacrum*).⁸⁹

⁸⁹ [Man] besteigt einen überaus angenehmen mit einem Buchenwäldchen bekränzten Hügel, insgemein den Freundschaftshügel genannt, den einst Freunde des verstorbenen ehemaligen Besitzers Basil von Amman mit bequemen Gängen, Rastplätzchen, einigen angenehmen Glorietten, Rasenbänken, selbst mit hin und wieder auf Tafeln angebrachten, den Gegenden anpassenden, deutschen Gedichten, und in seinem höchsten Theile mit einem

This 'sanctuary of friendship' at the peak of the hill was probably erected in 1783, as Spaur states in his description of the garden that the altar featured an inscription reading '*amicitiae 1783*'.⁹⁰ At least one of the marble plates with German poetry from the park survives and is now incorporated into a wall of the castle Aigen.⁹¹ It features a verse from Gellert's ode *Das Gebet*, which is the third poem in the collection of *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*:

Pray often, reveal in a quiet place
to God your sorrow without despair.
He draws the words from your heart,
not your heart from the words.
Not your bended knee, not tears,
not words, sighs, psalms or chants,
neither do your vows move God; but your longing,
your faith in him and his Son.⁹²

None of the other poems can be identified, but a bust within the garden gives an idea of the general style of the poetry scattered in the park. After descending from the *Freundschaftshügel* the imaginary stroller in Hübner's description walks down an alley of fruit trees and reaches a 'lovely arbour' with a statue of the poet Anacreon, whose bust stands on a pedestal in midst of a water basin.⁹³ Anacreon's bucolic poetry became the classical model for an entire generation of German poets in the eighteenth century: Gleim, Hagedorn, Uz, Lessing and many others wrote poetry inspired by and closely modeled after Anacreon's lyrics singing about nature, love, wine and friendship.⁹⁴

Such Anacreontic poems incorporated in a landscape garden also accorded well with contemporary theories of gardening and landscape aesthetics. The most

Freundschaftsaltare (*Amicitiae sacrum*) zu einem der wonnereichsten Lusthaine umgeschaffen haben.' Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 567.

⁹⁰ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 48.

⁹¹ See Harlander, *Der Park zu Aigen*, 204.

⁹² 'Bet oft; entdeck am stillen Orte / Gott ohne Zagen deinen Schmerz. / Er schließt vom Herzen auf die Worte, / Nicht von den Worten auf das Herz. / Nicht dein gebognes Knie, nicht Thränen, / Nicht Worte, Seufzer, Psalm und Ton, / Nicht dein Gelübd rührt Gott; dein Sehnen, / Dein Glaub an ihn und seinen Sohn.' Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1757), 9. The translation by Pamela Dellal is available online, see Darrell M. Berg, ed., 'Gellert songs', *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach : Complete Works*, VI/1 (Los Altos, 2009): <<http://cpebach.org/pdfs/librettos/VI-1-Wq194-translations.pdf>> [accessed on 30 May 2015].

⁹³ See Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 567.

⁹⁴ For more information regarding German Anacreontic poetry, see Herbert Zeman, *Die deutsche anacreontische Dichtung* (Stuttgart, 1972); or Newell E. Warde, *Johann Peter Uz and German anacreonticism* (Frankfurt, 1978).

influential German-speaking theorist in this field was Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld. In his *Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst* published in Leipzig in 1773, Hirschfeld advocated well-placed plates with poetry within a landscape garden, but also warned of its misuse and overuse. Hirschfeld recommended poems with 'historical or moral' subjects or poetry that 'alludes to the particular amenity of the place'.⁹⁵ Such poetry is able to exert 'many a good influence on the imagination and on the heart' of the viewer.⁹⁶

The design of the garden owned by Antretter and then by Amann was a communal project of several friends. Three of these friends are known by name, Joseph Ernst Gilowsky von Urazowa, Friedrich Franz Joseph von Spaur and Count Wolfegg, but others might have been involved in the garden design, too. Gilowsky, Spaur and Wolfegg were members of or at least close to the Salzburg masonic lodge *Zur Fürsicht*, which was founded in 1783, and the garden was rich in masonic symbolism.⁹⁷ Spaur for example was responsible for the *Eremitage* within the garden, a 'casually decorated' domicile of 'solitude'.⁹⁸ Gilowsky seems to have been particularly active in beautifying the garden and designed such stereotypically sentimental features as a burial mound with an urn, a grotto and a path through a gorge of the *Felberbach*.⁹⁹

Further features of the park included several water falls, resting places and lookouts, which provided increasingly spectacular views culminating at the highest point of the park, where a so-called 'pulpit' was built. The view from this point reached across the city towards Bavaria and one could see 'the whole of the unspeakably beautiful valley of the Salzach with the city in the middle and the varied landscape on this and the other side of the river'.¹⁰⁰ These views created '*Empfindungen*, which one has to sense, but cannot be described'.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst* (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1773), 165.

⁹⁶ Hirschfeld, *Anmerkungen über die Landhäuser und die Gartenkunst*, 165.

⁹⁷ See Harlander, *Der Park zu Aigen*, 74–8. For general information on masonic gardens in Europe, see Jan A. M. Snoek, Monika Scholl and Andrea A. Kroon, eds., *Symbolism in 18th-century gardens* (Den Haag, 2006).

⁹⁸ Spaur, *Nachrichten Ueber das Erzstift Salzburg*, i, 41.

⁹⁹ Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 568.

¹⁰⁰ Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 568.

¹⁰¹ Hübner, *Beschreibung der [...] Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, 568.

4.3 *Empfindsamkeit* on theatre stages in Salzburg

The rage for the theatre prevails here [in Salzburg] as fervently as in Munich, and people lust for the arrival of a travelling troupe as [people] in the outermost corner of Siberia lust for the return of spring.¹⁰²

In 1777, when Johann Kaspar Riesbeck stayed in Salzburg, the ballroom at the Hannibalplatz (today's Makartplatz) was recently converted into Salzburg's first public theatre. When the theatre opened in 1775, there was finally an adequate public venue to satisfy the theatre-fever of the citizens. Before this, spoken theatre and opera were performed either at the archbishop's private theatre inside the *Residenz*, in the open-air theatres, which are part of the gardens at the castles *Hellbrunn* and *Mirabell*, or at the Benedictine university. The first extensive account of the plays and operas performed at the Salzburg theatre was published by Karl Wagner in 1910.¹⁰³ Sibylle Dahms dealt with the music theatre productions and listed the titles of musical plays and operas performed in Salzburg¹⁰⁴ and Ernst Hintermaier documented the troupes and personnel which appeared in Salzburg from 1775 until 1803 but not their repertoire.¹⁰⁵ Most recently, Rudolph Angermüller attended to this subject and, drawing on the information in Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen's diary, he reconstructed the playlist of the summer season from July to October 1776 given by the *Rößlsche Schauspielergesellschaft* and also the performances by the *Schopfsche Schauspielergesellschaft* from the end of March to June 1777.¹⁰⁶ The opening season at the new theatre is well documented in the *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg*,¹⁰⁷ a local journal in support of the theatre venture during its first season. Thus the repertoire performed during the first three seasons from 1775 and 1777 are now known.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² 'Die Theaterwuth herrscht hier so stark, als zu München, und man lechzt nach der Ankunft einer fahrenden Schauspielergesellschaft wie im äussersten Sibirien nach der Wiederkehr des Frühlings.' Riesbeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, i, 207.

¹⁰³ Karl Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Hoftheater. 1775 - 1805', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 1 (1910), 285-328.

¹⁰⁴ Sibylle Dahms, 'Das musikalische Repertoire des Salzburger Fürsterzbischöflichen Hoftheaters (1775-1803)', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, xxxi (1976), 340-55.

¹⁰⁵ Ernst Hintermaier, 'Das fürsterzbischöfliche Hoftheater zu Salzburg (1775-1803)', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, xxx (1975), 351-63.

¹⁰⁶ Rudolph Angermüller, 'Theaterprinzipale in Salzburg in der Colloredo-Zeit (1775 bis 1803)', *Auf eigenem Terrain - Beiträge zur Salzburger Musikgeschichte*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Thomas Hochradner (Salzburg, 2004), 273-92.

¹⁰⁷ *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg vom 18. Nov. 1775 bis zu Ende Febr. 1776* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1776).

¹⁰⁸ Appendix K lists the complete playlists for the first three seasons chronologically. Although this information has been available for some time, it has never been collated in one place.

4.3.1 The playlists of the Salzburg theatre 1775 to 1777

The repertoire performed in Salzburg during the opening season of the new public theatre from November 1775 until February 1776 had a decidedly modern and reformed outlook. Karl Wahr and his troupe inaugurated the theatre with the play *Essex oder die Gunst des Fürsten*,¹⁰⁹ a translation and conflation of several English plays on the Essex plot by John Banks,¹¹⁰ Henry Brooke,¹¹¹ Henry Jones¹¹² and James Ralph.¹¹³ Christian Heinrich Schmid, professor of rhetoric and poetry at the university in Gießen, was the translator and author of this arrangement. According to the *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg* this work was 'among the best plays of the German theatre' as it united 'natural, non-artificial dialogues, bold ideas, the most natural turns [in the story], non-artificial [and] adorable scenes, with an interesting plot, which moves the heart'.¹¹⁴

During the entire opening season north German works or foreign works translated and adapted by north German authors figured prominently in the playlist. On the second night Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* was given,¹¹⁵ which prompted an equally enthusiastic review in the *Theaterwochenblatt* as the opening piece.¹¹⁶ Two further plays by Lessing were performed by Karl Wahr's troupe: *Miss Sara Sampson*¹¹⁷ and *Emilia Galotti*.¹¹⁸ Just one year after its premiere in Hamburg, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's tragedy *Clavigo* was given on the Salzburg stage on 24 November, with a repeat performance on 30 November.¹¹⁹ One further play based on Goethe was the arrangement of *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* by Johann Christoph Seipp, a member of the troupe.¹²⁰ Apparently Goethe's epistolary novel gained such a popularity in Salzburg just one year after its publication that the

¹⁰⁹ 16 November 1775 (the dates for the performances in Salzburg are given so as to facilitate the use of Appendix K).

¹¹⁰ John Banks, *The Unhappy Favourite, or, The Earl of Essex – a Tragedy* (London, 1682).

¹¹¹ Henry Brooke, *The Earl of Essex. A Tragedy. As it is now acting at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (Edinburgh, 1761).

¹¹² Henry Jones, *The Earl of Essex. A Tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden* (London, 1753).

¹¹³ James Ralph, *The fall of the Earl of Essex. As it is perform'd at the Theatre in Goodman's-Fields. Alter'd from The unhappy favourite of Mr. Banks* (London, 1731).

¹¹⁴ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 39.

¹¹⁵ 17 November 1775.

¹¹⁶ See *Theaterwochenblatt*, 42–7 & 49–51.

¹¹⁷ 12 January 1776.

¹¹⁸ Two performances on 5 & 23 January 1776.

¹¹⁹ The play is only listed as 'Clavigo, a tragedy [...] after the true story by [...] Beaumarchais' in the performance calendar of the *Theaterwochenblatt*, but reviews and comments on the play and the performance reveal that it was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's version of the plot. See *Theaterwochenblatt*, 55, 90, 106 & 136.

¹²⁰ 4 December 1775.

troupe wanted to capitalise on this pan-European craze. Yet, Schidenhofen in his diary as well as the *Theaterwochenblatt* report an entirely unfavourable reception of the play in Salzburg.¹²¹

Works by Johann Christian Brandes,¹²² Johann Joachim Christoph Bode,¹²³ Christian August Clodius,¹²⁴ Johann Jakob Engel,¹²⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter,¹²⁶ Gustav Friedrich Großmann¹²⁷ and Christian Felix Weiße¹²⁸ complement the list of original works by famous north German authors. Three adaptations of plays by Shakespeare were performed during the first season in Salzburg: *Hamlet* in a translation by Franz von Heufeld,¹²⁹ *Romeo and Juliet* in a version by Christian Felix Weiße¹³⁰ and *Macbeth* edited by Johann Gottlieb Stephanie.¹³¹ Furthermore, the *Wahr'sche Schauspielergesellschaft* staged Lessing's translation of Denis Diderot's *Le père de famille*, titled *Der Hausvater*,¹³² and an anonymous translation of Edward Young's *The Brothers*.¹³³ *Die Tuchmacher von London*, performed in Salzburg on 8 January 1776, was probably Wieland's adaptation of Charles-Georges Fenouillot de Quingey's *Le fabricant de Londres*.

The summer season 1776 was shared by the theatre company of Wolfgang Rössl and an Italian group directed by Pietro Rosa. The latter exclusively performed Italian operas and Italian comedies, most of which were by Carlo Goldoni. Rössl's troupe stayed in Salzburg for a very brief period from 14 July until 5 August 1776 and performed on twelve evenings during this time.¹³⁴ On four nights works by north German authors were staged: Karl Martin Plümicke's *Miß Jenny Warton*,¹³⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Wetzel's *Der Großmüthige*¹³⁶ and on two nights Heinrich Ferdinand Möller's widely successful 'military drama' *Der Graf von Waltron*.¹³⁷ In

¹²¹ See *SchidenhofenDiary*, 109; and *Theaterwochenblatt*, 87.

¹²² *Der Gasthof oder Trau, schau, wem!* (30 January 1776).

¹²³ *Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau* (27 January 1776).

¹²⁴ *Medon oder die Rache des Weisen* (27 January 1776).

¹²⁵ *Der dankbare Sohn* (6 February 1776).

¹²⁶ *Orest und Elektra* (26 January 1776).

¹²⁷ *Die Feuersbrunst* (18 February 1776).

¹²⁸ *Richard der Dritte* (8 December 1775) & *Mustapha und Zeangir* (16 February 1776).

¹²⁹ 1 December 1775 & 12 February 1776.

¹³⁰ 29 December 1775.

¹³¹ 2 February 1776.

¹³² 13 December 1775.

¹³³ 11 December 1775.

¹³⁴ For a full playlist of Wolfgang Rössl's theatre troupe, see Appendix K, table (b).

¹³⁵ 23 July 1776.

¹³⁶ 28 July 1776.

¹³⁷ 26 & 31 July 1776.

addition to several Viennese plays, they performed a not identified translation of Louis Sebastian Mercier's *Dürimel oder die Einquartierung der Franzosen*.¹³⁸

Due to organisational mismanagement and clumsy tactical manoeuvring by the authorities in Salzburg there was no troupe visiting the city for the winter season 1776–7.¹³⁹ Only on the last day of March 1777 the theatre company led by Andreas Schopf and Theresia Schimann opened the summer season with the play *Essex oder die Gunst des Fürsten*, as Karl Wahr did a year and a half before.¹⁴⁰ Yet again, plays from north Germany accounted for a sizeable portion of the repertoire of this group. Johann Christian Brandes featured most prominently on the list as the author of four plays performed during that season.¹⁴¹ Thus Wolfgang Mozart could have been well familiar with works of Brandes, before he saw the melodrama *Ariadne auf Naxos* with Georg Benda's music in Mannheim later that year or in 1778. The repertoire of Schopf's troupe included *Emilia Galotti*¹⁴² and *Der Freigeist*¹⁴³ by Lessing and also the play *Der dankbare Sohn* by Johann Jakob Engel,¹⁴⁴ whose philosophical writings on aesthetics were highly influential as theoretical foundations for sensibility in the arts in Germany. Furthermore, Schopf's troupe performed Clodius's *Medon oder die Rache des Weisen*¹⁴⁵ and Weiße's tragedy *Richard der Dritte*,¹⁴⁶ both of which were also performed by Karl Wahr's troupe, and a play by the Weimar author and patron of the arts Justin Friedrich Bertuch.¹⁴⁷

4.3.2 The *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg*

While the repertoire of the travelling troupes gives us an idea of the currency of plays and translations from northern Germany on the Salzburg stage, it is the *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg* that demonstrates the general acceptance of north German aesthetics in town. The *Theaterwochenblatt* was a journal published anonymously, which appeared twice a week during the opening season of the theatre at the Hannibalplatz in 1775–6. The paper provided a playlist of the inaugural season, some extended reviews of the plays and of their performances

¹³⁸ 19 July 1776.

¹³⁹ For more details, see Wagner, 'Das Salzburger Hoftheater. 1775 – 1805', 296–7.

¹⁴⁰ For a full playlist of the *Schopfische Schauspielergesellschaft*, see Appendix K, table (c).

¹⁴¹ *Der Graf von Olsbach* (2 April 1777), *Die Mediceer* (28 April 1777), *Der Gasthof oder Trau, schau, wem!* (4 May 1777) and *Der Schein betriegt* (12 May 1777).

¹⁴² 18 April 1777.

¹⁴³ 6 June 1777.

¹⁴⁴ 21 May 1777.

¹⁴⁵ 7 April 1777.

¹⁴⁶ 11 April 1777.

¹⁴⁷ *Elfriede* (4 & 18 June 1777).

and also information on the actors of the troupe. It also included philosophical and historical essays on the theatre in general, discussions on the use and influence of the theatre on morals and a vision of an 'ideal' theatre. The editorial content of the *Theaterwochenblatt* was rounded off with systematic listings of original German stage works and newly published books on the theatre and with brief descriptions of different theatres in Germany. The *Theaterwochenblatt* was modelled after Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, which appeared between 1767 and 1769: both journals were attempts to educate the audience by philosophical treatises on the value of the theatre and by specific reviews of plays the readers saw on stage. These reviews were detailed examinations of the merits and faults of a play and its performance and they provided a critical foundation for the reader, on which to build his or her own opinion.

The *Theaterwochenblatt* was also an obvious marketing strategy for the local theatre enterprise, trying to spark interest and participation from the local public in this new venture. Therefore much space in the journal was accorded to anecdotes from the international theatre scene and to contributions by the readership in the form of questions, opinions and eulogistic poems in admiration of the actors.

Right from the start, ideas of *Empfindsamkeit* feature highly in this paper: the introduction to the first issue of the *Theaterwochenblatt* refers explicitly to Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and also alludes to this author's works in its style of writing.¹⁴⁸ Thus the paper presents itself as a modern, enlightened publication, which reflects the most recent literary trends. The *Theaterwochenblatt* clearly assumes a general knowledge of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* by the readership in Salzburg, even though the first German translation of the work appeared just the year before in Hamburg.¹⁴⁹

Lessing is revered as the greatest author of theatrical plays in the *Theaterwochenblatt*. His *Minna von Barnhelm* is extolled as 'masterpiece', as 'the one and only German comedy'¹⁵⁰ and *Emilia Galotti* proves him to have attained 'the highest level of perfection'.¹⁵¹ In the review of the opening night and the performance of *Essex oder Die Gunst des Fürsten* the author refers explicitly to Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, where Lessing has demonstrated 'the merits

¹⁴⁸ See *Theaterwochenblatt*, 1–2.

¹⁴⁹ Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Schandis Leben und Meynungen*, trans. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, 3 vols. (Hamburg, Bode, 1774).

¹⁵⁰ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 42.

¹⁵¹ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 82.

and faults of the [various] Essex plays'.¹⁵² In addition to Lessing, Gottsched and Weiße also occupy positions as exemplary German playwrights in the *Theaterwochenblatt*, as the first 'laid the foundations for a regular [German] theatre' and the latter was the author of 'our best tragedies'.¹⁵³

The beginning of an anonymous poem, supposedly sent in by a reader of the paper, indicates how popular and broadly known North German authors were in Salzburg. The lines are written in eulogy of the leading actress of Karl Wahr's company, Sophie Körner, and they list some of the authors that we nowadays think as being central to the literary movement of *Empfindsamkeit* in North Germany:

A Wieland should see **You** thus / As queen;
 Friend Gleim should see **You** thus / As farmer's wife;
 And Lessing see his Minna / As **You** enact her, as he had thought her out;
 Yes, then it could easily happen / That **You** will be immortalised in their
 songs.¹⁵⁴

In more general aesthetic questions, the *Theaterwochenblatt* confirms Batteux's *Einleitung in die schönen Wissenschaften* edited by Ramler as a generally respected authority in Salzburg. A 'Liebhaberinn of the fine arts' cites Ramler's treatise as authority in her criticism of a performer, who did not act according to nature.¹⁵⁵ Nature and naturalness are repeatedly emphasised as aims of the theatre throughout and so is Lessing's central tenet regarding the acting on stage: the performer should move the listener by means of compassion instead of symbolically displaying virtue and vice.¹⁵⁶ Sophie Körner is lauded for the 'truth in her expression' at the opening night (and truth was used synonymously for nature)¹⁵⁷ and the principal Karl Wahr was praised for his 'feeling without affectation'.¹⁵⁸ In her letter mentioned above the *Liebhaberinn* enthuses about Körner, neatly combining the objective of naturalness with the postulate for compassion:

¹⁵² *Theaterwochenblatt*, 38. The different Essex plays are discussed in detail in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, ii (Hamburg, Cramer, 1769), 9–128.

¹⁵³ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 70–1.

¹⁵⁴ 'Ein Wieland sollte **Dich** so sehen / Als Königinn; / Freund Gleim der sollte **Dich** so sehen / Als Bäurinn; / Und Lessing seine Minna sehen / Wie **Du** sie spielst, wie er sich's dacht; / Ja wohl! dann könnt' es leicht geschehen, / Daß **Dich** ihr Lied unsterblich macht.' *Theaterwochenblatt*, 22.

¹⁵⁵ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 57–62.

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel*, ed. Jochen Schulte-Sasse (Munich, 1972), 55.

¹⁵⁷ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 39.

¹⁵⁸ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 40.

Anybody, who is not moved by watching her [Körner] dying in **Clavigo**, is a man without feeling: because there one witnesses nature, – true nature!¹⁵⁹

The *Theaterwochenblatt* stands witness to the currency of sensibility in Salzburg around 1775 and for the positive value attached to *Empfindsamkeit*. For the *Liebhaberinn* mentioned above, her ‘*Empfindung*’ is as great an authority as Ramler and Batteux. When vindicating her judgement of a performance, she refers ‘once again to Ramler’s Batteux, page 157, first volume, and to my own sentiment’.¹⁶⁰ The inclusion of a page reference makes one wonder whether Ramler’s edition of Batteux’s treatise was as widespread that readers followed up the reference, or if it just represented a pretence of erudition.

In the *Theaterwochenblatt* the ‘teardrop of a sentimental soul’ (‘*die Thräne einer empfindsamen Seele*’) is described as the reward and the crown for any actor.¹⁶¹ This sentimental teardrop, also called a ‘humane teardrop’,¹⁶² was a hallmark of *Empfindsamkeit* and judging from the *Theaterwochenblatt* the Salzburg audience shed many of those. Just how far this sentimental teardrop symbolised humane compassion, which could and should be taught by the theatre, is proven in the above-mentioned poem by the female connoisseur in praise of the Sophie Körner:

There I’ll cry at the innocent deaths

The teardrop that **You** taught me.¹⁶³

The inaugural season came to a close on 20 February 1776 with the performance of Johann Christoph Engelmann’s heroic drama *Albert der Erste oder Adeline*. The *Theaterwochenblatt* describes the piece as a ‘play with wonderful assets’: ‘a humane ruler full of sentiment and love of justice, kind to the suffering, strict against vice, is as rare a sight as it is touching’.¹⁶⁴ With this sentimental play, the *Wahrsche Schauspielgesellschaft* took leave of its Salzburg audience and the *Theaterwochenblatt* displayed quite some local pride in the success of the first season, because they demonstrated to the world ‘that Salzburg was entertained by the choicest works of the best poets of Germany and of a few foreigners during this winter’.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ ‘Wer sie [Körner] im **Clavigo** sterben sieht, und nicht gerührt wird, ist ein Mensch ohne Empfindung; dann da sieht man Natur, – die wahre Natur!’ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 62.

¹⁶⁰ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 61.

¹⁶¹ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 3.

¹⁶² *Theaterwochenblatt*, 4.

¹⁶³ ‘Dann wein’ ich bey der Unschuld Leichen / Die Thräne, die **Du** mich gelehrt.’ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 23.

¹⁶⁴ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 342.

¹⁶⁵ ‘daß Salzburg diesen Winter über mit den auserlesensten Arbeiten der besten Dichter Deutschlands und einiger Ausländer ist unterhalten worden.’ *Theaterwochenblatt*, 343.

4.3.3 Johann Heinrich Rolle's *Der Tod Abels* in Salzburg 1778

Since 1617 large-scale theatrical performances were staged at the Benedictine *Gymnasium*, which later became part of the Salzburg university.¹⁶⁶ A fixture within the calendar were the annual *Finalkomödien*, Latin dramas for the end of the school year performed around the end of August or the beginning of September. The performances were very popular among all ranks of Salzburg society and the auditorium occasionally was so overcrowded that even members of the nobility had to stand during the plays or were turned away.¹⁶⁷

The tradition of Latin dramatic works performed at the end of the school year came to an end with the inauguration of archbishop Colloredo on the bishop's see in 1772. Although the official edict, which curtailed the lavish theatre performances at the university came only in 1776,¹⁶⁸ Colloredo was certainly responsible for the change from Latin to German as the language of the *Finalkomödie* in the year of his accession. In 1772, Florian Reichssiegel's drama *Pietas in hospitem* with music by Anton Cajetan Adlgasser was given in Latin under its original title on 2 September and then two days later on occasion of the prize awarding ceremony it was given in German as *Die reichlich vergoltene Bewirthung*.¹⁶⁹ The following year, the *Finalkomödie* from 1771 was repeated: the libretto was also written by Reichssiegel and the music by Michael Haydn. In 1771 it was given in its Latin form as *Pietas in patriam*, while in 1773 it was translated into German now titled *Hermann, ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande*.¹⁷⁰ The same procedure was applied in 1774, when another singspiel by Reichssiegel and Haydn from 1770 was revived, but translated into German: the drama *Pietas christiana* became *Titus, der standhafte Khrist*.¹⁷¹ A main reformatory objective of Colloredo's tenure as Salzburg archbishop is visible here: the introduction of German as the language of the common people at church and at official functions. In November 1776 an official regulation was issued that German literature and poetry should be presented at the end of the school year instead of fully staged theatrical performances.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ For a detailed account of the university theatre, see Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*.

¹⁶⁷ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 49.

¹⁶⁸ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 127–8.

¹⁶⁹ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 307–8.

¹⁷⁰ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 307–8.

¹⁷¹ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 308.

¹⁷² With this act, Colloredo followed the example set by the *Hof-Studienkommission* in Vienna, which abolished theatrical performances for the end of year celebrations in 1765. See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 127–8.

Thus, 'excerpts from the best German authors' interwoven with conversations written especially for the occasion were given on the university stage in 1777. According to the abstract at the opening of the printed textbook the 'conversations' aimed to 'show our pupils [...] how they can usefully entertain themselves with a good book and conversations during the holidays and never waste a whole day in lethargic idleness'.¹⁷³ The imaginary setting of the play is on the country residence of a student's father, apparently a realistic scenario for the Salzburg students. The 'table of books', from which the excerpts are taken, demonstrates once again how literature from North Germany was officially deemed the best read for the students. First on the list is Christoph Christian Sturm's *Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur*. While the subject is clearly within the realm of traditional religious education, the author is a Lutheran theologian, who lived in Hamburg. Other works listed on the table include Daniel Wilhelm Triller's poetry, Hirschfeld's book *Das Landleben* and James Thomson's poems in translation by Gessner. Excerpts from Ramler's *Einleitung in die schönen Wissenschaften* were also recited on stage. Nothing is documented about the reception of this performance that presented excerpts of enlightenment literature in such a radically new format.

It is within this context of reform and experimentation that on 3 September 1778 a performance of Johann Heinrich Rolle's musical drama *Der Tod Abels* with a libretto by Johann Samuel Patzke took place at the university theatre. For the first time the textbook of the end-of-year performance was not written by a Benedictine professor from the university, but was a foreign product. *Der Tod Abels* was premiered in 1769 in Magdeburg, where Rolle was the city music director, and the work quickly gained prominence in the German-speaking lands.¹⁷⁴ In 1771 Breitkopf issued a piano reduction¹⁷⁵ and the firm also advertised manuscript copies of the score and of performance material in 1775.¹⁷⁶ Not only the music, but also the libretto and the subject were tremendously popular: the story describes the first death within humanity, Cain murdering his brother Abel. Patzke based his textbook on Salomon Gessner's idyllic prose pastoral with the same title, which appeared in

¹⁷³ *Auszüge von besten deutschen Schriftstellern genommen durch Gespräche dramatisch in einander geflochten und im Jahre 1777 auf dem großen Haupttheater bey Austheilung der Prämien von den Benediktinischen Musen in Salzburg vorgetragen* (Salzburg, Hof- u. akad. Buchdruckerey, 1777) [A-Su, 4145 I], abstract [unpaginated].

¹⁷⁴ For a short summary of the work, see Andreas Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen* (Beeskow, 2007), 213–6. For a list of the staggering amount of surviving eighteenth-century sources, which demonstrate the work's tremendous popularity, see Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 347–64.

¹⁷⁵ Johann Heinrich Rolle, *Der Tod Abels, ein musikalisches Drama* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1771).

¹⁷⁶ See Barry S. Brook, ed., *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue* (New York, 1966), 588.

1758 in Zurich, and he probably also knew Meta Klopstock's bible drama *Der Tod Abels* from 1759.¹⁷⁷

Yet, the Salzburg performance in 1778 was not just another performance of Rolle's musical drama, but it resulted in a particular version of the work, as Michael Haydn added some changes to the score and composed a new last scene for the oratorio (MH271). The printed textbook gives an explanation for the additional music by Haydn in the preface:

Herr Patzke is the author of this *Singspiel* and Herr Rolle, music director in Berlin, set it to music. Herr Klopstock changed and augmented the text at many places, which did not fit Rolle's music any more. At the end, something seemed to be missing in the music that we got. And this conjecture was strengthened by the exemplar of Herr Klopstock regarding the [figure of] Thirza: the court concertmaster Herr Michael Haydn compensated this deficiency perfectly.¹⁷⁸

The course of events seems quite straightforward: they had Rolle's music, a version of the text with improvements by Klopstock and Haydn was commissioned to edit the music according to the new text. Yet, this preface, which contains the obvious mistake of Rolle being 'music director in Berlin', in conjunction with the surviving full score for the Salzburg performance with Haydn's autograph corrections and his newly composed music¹⁷⁹ created some serious confusion in the recent and only account of this performance and its circumstances by Andreas Waczkat.¹⁸⁰

First of all, Waczkat doubts Klopstock's involvement in the version of the text performed in Salzburg, an opinion which Franz Muncker also voiced in 1908 in his

¹⁷⁷ See Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 213.

¹⁷⁸ 'Herr Patzke ist der Verfasser dieses Singspieles und Herr Rolle, Musikdirektor in Berlin, hat es in die Musik gesetzt. Herr Klopstock hat im Texte viel theils geändert, theils vermehret, welches aber mit dem rollischen Musiksatz nicht mehr übereinstimmt. Am Ende schien uns in der Musik, die wir haben, etwas weggeblieben zu seyn; in welcher Vermuthung wir nach dem Exemplare des Herrn Klopstock in Rücksicht auf die Thirza sind gestärket worden: diesen Abgang aber hat Herr Michael Haydn hochfürstlicher Konzertmeister allhier, vollkommen ersetzt.' *Ein Singspiel in zweyen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod, auf dem grossen Haupttheater in der Universität zu Salzburg bey der Austheilung der Prämien im Jahre 1778 vorgestellt* (Salzburg, Hof- und akademische Buchdruckerey, 1778).

¹⁷⁹ The score at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München* was split into two separate items: 1) the music by Rolle with Haydn's corrections [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813] and 2) Haydn's autograph of the last scene [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3736].

¹⁸⁰ Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 299–312; an earlier and slightly longer version of this chapter is published in Andreas Waczkat, 'Klopstock, Michael Haydn und die Salzburger Aufführung von Rolles Musikalischem Drama *Der Tod Abels*', *Klopstock und die Musik. Jahrbuch 2003 der Ständigen Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik*, ed. Peter Wollny (Beeskow, 2005), 275–92.

literary discussion of the textbook.¹⁸¹ Both authors assume that the Salzburg textbook presents a singular form of the text and a singular attribution to Klopstock¹⁸² and dismiss Klopstock's involvement on stylistic grounds, but also because 'it is difficult to believe that the only source of [Klopstock's] arrangement should be found in Salzburg of all places'.¹⁸³ Yet, they failed to notice that *Der Tod Abels*, called 'a lyrical drama', was indeed included in contemporary collected editions of Klopstock's *Trauerspiele* published by Schmieder in Karlsruhe and by Fleischhauer in Reutlingen in 1776.¹⁸⁴ In the preface to *Der Tod Abels* Klopstock states that 'this little dramatic piece is not yet as well-known as it deserves to be'.¹⁸⁵ Even though Patzke and Rolle created 'a dignified piece', Klopstock 'dared to add little amendments at the beginning, around the middle and at the end of this poem and also to polish one or another syllable'.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps Klopstock originally amended Patzke's text for a specific performance and a single print of this lyrical drama, which probably was a textbook for a performance, survives at the *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, published anonymously in 1773.¹⁸⁷ The text of this textbook is exactly the same as the one printed three years later in the collected editions of tragedies by Klopstock, including the preface signed 'in the month of Christmas 1772', which would tie in with a date of performance in 1773. The attribution to Klopstock in the collected editions of tragedies by Fleischhauer and Schmieder could be wrong, but the publications are included in Christiane Boghardt's bibliography of contemporary prints of Klopstock's works without any further reservation.¹⁸⁸

The dependency of the Salzburg version of *Der Tod Abels* on the text published in Klopstock's *Trauerspiele* is plainly apparent and beyond doubt. Already the opening

¹⁸¹ Franz Muncker, *Über einige Vorbilder für Klopstocks Dichtungen* (Munich, 1908), 39–51.

¹⁸² See Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 301; and Muncker, *Über einige Vorbilder für Klopstocks Dichtungen*, 39–41.

¹⁸³ Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 301.

¹⁸⁴ Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Trauerspiele* (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer, 1776); and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Trauerspiele* (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776). A copy of the edition by Fleischhauer survives at the *Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter* [A-Ssp, 24706/3].

¹⁸⁵ Klopstock, *Trauerspiele* (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer), 341.

¹⁸⁶ Klopstock, *Trauerspiele* (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer), 344.

¹⁸⁷ [Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock], *Der Tod Abels : ein lyrisches Drama* (s.l., s.n., 1773) [D-Hs, A/49877].

¹⁸⁸ Christiane Boghardt, ed., *Die zeitgenössischen Drucke von Klopstocks Werken*, ii (Berlin, 1981), 772–4.

stage direction in the Salzburg textbook, which is missing in Patzke's original¹⁸⁹ or in the keyboard reduction, is taken verbatim from Klopstock's edition:

The setting shows a charming plain in the Garden of Eden, in the middle of which is an arbour beautified by nature rather than by art. Further back, the thicket gradually increases and only some bits of meadow appear in between. Sideways at the front is a waterfall and a bench of grass.¹⁹⁰

The little detail of a waterfall is newly added in the Salzburg textbook, making the scene resemble even more the ideal of a sentimental garden, as put into reality in Aigen.¹⁹¹ Not only the stage directions but also the text in the Salzburg performance followed Klopstock's improvements of Patzke's original closely: while the performance score with Rolle's music¹⁹² originally featured the text printed in the piano reduction published by Breitkopf, the text was then amended to correspond with Klopstock's version. All the text changes are in the hand of Michael Haydn, who also inserted bass figures in the arias and choral movements, added a plethora of performance directions and marginally changed a few notes in the voice parts to accord with the new text (see Figure 15 for text changes and Figure 16 for text changes and bass figures in Michael Haydn's hand).¹⁹³

Things are a little more complicated for the last scene depicting the death of Thirza, Abel's wife. While the Salzburg editors stated in the preface that 'at the end, something seemed to be missing in the music that we got',¹⁹⁴ an assumption strengthened by Klopstock's version of the text, they missed the fact that Thirza's death was one of the additions by Klopstock to Patzke's text and their score faithfully reproduced the complete musical drama by Rolle and Patzke.

¹⁸⁹ Patzke's libretto was published in the periodical *Mannigfaltigkeiten, eine gemeinnützige Wochenschrift*, ed. Friedrich Heinrich Wilhelm Martini, iii (Berlin, Bosse, 1771-2), 225-36 & 250-4.

¹⁹⁰ 'Der Schauplatz stellet eine anmuthige Ebene in den Gefilden Edens vor, in dessen Mitte eine mehr durch Natur, als Kunst verschönerte Laube befindlich ist. Tiefer hinein verdichtet sich das Gesträuch immer mehr, daß nur einige Wiesenräume zwischendurch scheinen. Vornenher seitwärts ist ein Wasserfall und eine Rasenbank.' *Ein Singspiel in zweoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 4.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 4.2.2.

¹⁹² [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813].

¹⁹³ A detailed textual criticism would be a worthwhile undertaking, but it is far beyond the scope of this chapter.

¹⁹⁴ *Ein Singspiel in zweoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 2.



Figure 15: Johann Heinrich Rolle, *Der Tod Abels* [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813], folio 8r.

Figure 16: Johann Heinrich Rolle, *Der Tod Abels* [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813], folio 89r.

The text of this last scene in particular was cited by Waczkat and Muncker as proof that the Salzburg version was unlikely to be Klopstock's work, because 'the entire, prosaic, spluttering language of this scene' differed so markedly from the style of Klopstock's writings.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, Waczkat admits that the theological implications of Thirza's death presented on stage, which stands for the redemption of the bereaved, for the salvation in death, is indeed an undercurrent of Klopstock's theological thinking, as demonstrated in Klopstock's *Messias*.¹⁹⁶

Klopstock describes Thirza's death and the grief of Adam and Eve and of Thirza's children Hanniel and Sunam in three short scenes.¹⁹⁷ The text of the Salzburg performance closely follows Klopstock's course of events, but the words are indeed not by Klopstock but newly composed poetry, perhaps by Florian Reichssiegel, which united Klopstock's three scenes into a single one.¹⁹⁸

Just as in Klopstock's original, the last scene in the Salzburg textbook focuses on the inner emotions of the characters upon witnessing Thirza's death. It depicts the emotional state of Adam and Eve, how it changes between shock, disbelief and rebellion against god and how it gradually turns into pious acceptance of fate, as 'He alone is the Lord of life and death [...], His judgment is righteous'.¹⁹⁹ Adding to the touching character of the scene is the introduction of the two children Hanniel and Sunam, who do not appear otherwise in the drama. Also included in Klopstock's version of the drama, the children provide an opportunity to portray grief in its purest, most innocent form: two little children bereaved of their parents, who express their anguish in short stammering.

Haydn composes music for this last scene in a style, which corresponds closely to the music of contemporary melodramas as exemplified in the works of Georg Benda and which also corresponds well with the more dramatic sections in Rolle's oratorios. Based on the accompanied recitative, the style is marked by sudden changes in dynamics, in instrumentation and in the figuration, by abrupt changes of metre and harmony and by a declamatory freedom of the melodies. The music mirrors the emotional torment of the protagonists, sometimes simultaneously depicting their words, sometimes anticipating or following up emotions expressed in the text.

¹⁹⁵ Muncker, *Über einige Vorbilder für Klopstocks Dichtungen*, 50. See also Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 303.

¹⁹⁶ Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 312.

¹⁹⁷ Scenes 23 to 25, see Klopstock, *Trauerspiele* (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer), 377–81.

¹⁹⁸ *Ein Singspiel in zwoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 32–5.

¹⁹⁹ *Ein Singspiel in zwoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 35.

The last scene opens with the stage direction of Thirza bent over the corpse of her husband Abel, two of their children surrounding her.²⁰⁰ Her son Hanniel discovers her, but at first he does not understand in his childish naiveté that she was dead, taken away by grief. He calls his grandmother Eve to the scene, who immediately realises Thirza's death. Haydn's music at the beginning of the scene already announces the drama before Hanniel fully realises it (see Figure 17).

[Adagio.]

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Basso

Hanniel
Ach E - va! komm und

Adagio.
hülff!
die Mut-ter schläft sehr tief. Sie gab mit Aug und Hand mir gar kein einz- ges

Eva
Zei- chen; da ich doch wei- nend bath, und Mut- ter! Mut - ter! rief. Gott steh ihr bey!

etc.

Figure 17: Johann Michael Haydn, *Letzter Auftritt*, MH271 (additional music to Johann Heinrich Rolle's *Der Tod Abels*), bars 1–10. Transcription of [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3736], folios 119r–119v.

²⁰⁰ *Ein Singspiel in zwoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 32.

Marked *Adagio* the scene starts *piano*, but with a highly agitated figure in the first violin. Starting with a b-flat the first violin falls down a minor sixth to d in the middle of the bar, before meandering up to an a-flat at the end. Thus the melody in bar 1 outlines two typical intervals of anguish and distress: the falling minor sixth between beginning and middle of the bar and a falling whole note figure from b-flat to a-flat from the first beat to the fourth. The rhythmical values of this melody add to an undercurrent of restlessness, which is enhanced by the abrupt stop of the melody on the first quaver on the fourth beat. The middle voices and the bass provide a transitional motif in semi-quavers to bar 2, but this transition is far from a smooth one: the dots under the slurs in the second violin and the viola and the dots on the bass line indicate a stuttering move from bar 1 to bar 2. The first violin repeats the melodic figuration of the second half of bar 1 in bar 2, but now in a sudden and forceful *forte*. The melodic line whizzes up the octave from d to d¹, reaching the ninth e-flat in the middle of the bar and extending in range to the eleventh during the second half of bar 2. This second half is marked by the melodic intervals of two slurred couples of semiquavers marking a falling fourth and a diminished falling fourth, before the final desperate descend of a falling seventh from g¹ to a-natural in bar 3, all this marked *forte*.

Harmonically, these introductory two bars remain instable throughout. They start on an E-flat major chord in first inversion, which slips down to a d-minor harmony in first inversion on the middle of the first bar. With the *forte* marking on beat one of bar 2, the bass finally provides the fundamental note of the chord, b-flat, but the minor seventh in the second violin keeps the harmony unstable. A fleeting suggestion of stability is touched upon towards the end of bar 2, but the melodic figuration of the first violin thwarts any sense of harmonic ease, no matter how insistently the fundamental note is repeated in the bass. These opening bars end on an inverted F-major seventh chord on E-flat in the bass, which is hold out as a minim opening the curtain for Hannel to sing his first words.

The distress and anguish of the scene to come is already audible in this short introduction, which is repeated as an interlude in an even more agitated version in bar 4, abruptly cut off in the middle of bar 5. In contrast, the simplicity of Hannel's first notes portrays his naïve, childish worry: the slow melodic motion and the interval of a diminished fifth mirror Hannel's sadness, when he calls his grandmother for help: 'O Eva, come and help!'

Hannel's following entry begins a little more agitated, as he reports to Eva:

[...] the mother is fast asleep. She did not give me a sign with her eyes or hands, when weeping I asked her and cried Mother! Mother!²⁰¹

At first the strings accompany Hanniel's account with a long and relatively calm G-major chord in first inversion (bar 6), before the harmony moves to a G-major seventh chord (bar 7) in accordance with Hanniel's growing anger at realising what he is reporting. In bar 7, the pace of Hanniel's speech slows down markedly and brings back the air of melancholy, which was attached to his first entry also on a seventh chord in the same inversion (bar 3). At the point when Hanniel retells how he cried 'Mother! Mother!' to no avail (bar 8), the accompanying orchestra erupts with sudden *forte-piano* markings and chromatic alteration in the bass and the viola and with rhythmically displaced sighing figures in the violins, also marked with heavy accents. Eva immediately understands from Hanniel's report that Thirza is dying and she exclaims 'God, be with her!' and with the last word on the first beat of bar 10 the orchestra finally sounds a chord in root position in f-minor, a sounding representation of Eva's dolorous certainty.

While most of Haydn's last scene is composed in such a recitativo style, there is an extended *Adagio*, which provides a calm, reflective moment at the heart of the scene. This passage is exactly the textually much-chided duet for Hanniel and Surinam, the two bereaved sons, and it elicits some absolutely wonderful music from Haydn. Set in B-flat major in duple metre and scored for two oboes, two French horns in addition to the strings, Haydn's music for the duet imparts tender, heartfelt grief as well as sweet consolation (a facsimile of the beginning of this duet from Haydn's autograph score is given in Figure 18 and Figure 19).

²⁰¹ '[...] die Mutter schläft sehr tief. Sie gab mit Aug und Hand mir gar kein einziges Zeichen; da ich doch weinend bath, und Mutter! Mutter! rief.' *Ein Singspiel in zwoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 32.

Figure 18: Johann Michael Haydn, *Letzter Auftritt* (MH271),
beginning of Duet 'O Schmerz'. [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3736], folio 122v.

8.

Handwritten musical score for the beginning of the Duet 'O Schmerz' by Johann Michael Haydn. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff is a bass clef. The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff is a bass clef. The fifth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The sixth staff is a bass clef. The seventh staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The eighth staff is a bass clef. The ninth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The tenth staff is a bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p.' and 'f.'.

Figure 19: Johann Michael Haydn, *Letzter Auftritt* (MH271),
beginning of Duet 'O Schmerz' [continued]. [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3736],
folio 123r.

Handwritten musical score for a duet, folio 123r. The page contains ten staves of music. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The music is written in a single system across the staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes many slurs, ties, and dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). There are also some handwritten annotations in the margins, including 'o Schmerz' and 'min'. The page is numbered '123r' in the bottom right corner.

The two violins open the section in harmonious parallel thirds in *piano*, with the bass initially just provided by the viola. The winds and the bass only come in after the first beat with two quavers, gently nudging the melody on, which pauses right after the first motif. With bar 3 a steady movement is established in this section and the calmness is brought about by regular quavers in the bass and by the relatively slow harmonic progression, now working again in more normal relations of dominant and tonic in contrast to the haphazard harmonic ruptures in the recitative style of the opening passage of the last scene. The subdivision of the quavers into triplets adds to a sense of airiness amidst the grief, which burdens all persons on stage at this point of the plot. Haydn's striking attention to detail in the articulation of the triplets in the second violin (bar 4 and 6) enlivens the fairly uniform movement of the accompaniment just in those places where the melody in the first violin pauses briefly. The *ten[uto]* marking for the crotchets in the bass line from bar 9 onwards keeps the bass players from shortening their notes, as would be customary in such accompanying lines. The long, possibly even singing, notes in the bass line further emphasise the gently singing quality of the duet. Into this instrumental setting, the orphaned Hanniel and Sunam sing their plaintive words:

Sunam: Oh anguish, my father has faded!

Hanniel: Oh torment, the mother has gone!

Both: Now we are father-motherless

Alas! the loss is far too great.

Sunam: Only you, oh Adam! you alone,

Hanniel: Only you, oh Eve! you alone,

Both: You can be father/mother to us

in place of Abel/Thirza.²⁰²

Thus one of the most *empfindsam* sections in the Salzburg performance of *Der Tod Abels* was actually authored by two Salzburg artists, the as yet unidentified author of the libretto and Haydn.

According to Waczkat, the original score of Rolle's music, on which the Salzburg performance was based and which is now at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* [D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813], was a re-instrumentation of the keyboard reduction and he cites the title page of the manuscript as proof, which states '*Der Tod Abels / ed. 1771. / Cantate*

²⁰² '[Sunam:] O Schmerz! Mein Vater ist erblichen! [Hanniel:] O Quaal! die Mutter ist entwichen! [Both:] Nun sind wir Vater-mutterlos: / Ach! der Verlust ist gar zu groß. / [Sunam:] Nur du, o Adam! du allein, / [Hanniel:] Nur du, o Eva! du allein, / [Both:] Ihr könnet uns verlassen / Statt Abel/Thirza Vater/Mutter seyn.' *Ein Singspiel in zweoen Handlungen betitelt Abels Tod*, 34.

/ comp. von / Joh. ~~Mich. Haydn~~ [above:] Heinr. Rolle. / Musikdirector in Magdeburg. / I. Theil. / Leipzig bei Bernh. Christoph / Breitkopf u. Sohn. / 1771'.²⁰³ This title page indeed refers to the keyboard reduction, which was published in 1771 by Breitkopf, yet Waczkat fails to notice that the title page is written on a separate sheet, which does not belong to the original score and the scribe of the title page is not identical with the scribe of the music.²⁰⁴ This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that the scribe relied on Breitkopf's keyboard reduction as source, but some additional obbligato wind parts in the score, which do not appear in the keyboard reduction, and in particular some wind parts not notated in the score but written separately into the volume²⁰⁵ point to the fact that the scribe also used an additional source at the very least, be it a full score or a set of parts. Robert Münster identified the scribe of *D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813* on the cover of the manuscript as 'Kopist Hl. Kreuz C',²⁰⁶ who in fact is the Salzburg court singer and violinist Felix Hofstätter.²⁰⁷ Since 1773 Hofstätter worked as adjunct to the official court copyists Maximilian Raab and Joseph Richard Estlinger; he also copied music for the Mozart family²⁰⁸ and Wolfgang Mozart, at least, did not quite trust his integrity.²⁰⁹ Therefore the entire manuscript *D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813* was written in Salzburg, in all likelihood specifically for the performance at court in 1778.²¹⁰

The Salzburg performance of this sentimental musical drama resulting from a collaboration by Rolle, Haydn, Patzke, Klopstock and an anonymous Salzburg author was obviously a great success and surviving musical sources in Salzburg and in churches and monasteries connected with the archbishopric demonstrate that the performance sparked a fashion to appropriate Rolle's music for the use in Catholic church services.

²⁰³ Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 304.

²⁰⁴ This, incidentally, also explains the initial misattribution to Haydn, because the envelop was written after the Salzburg performance for both parts, Rolle's musical drama and Haydn's last scene. A scribe working from the keyboard reduction before the music was edited and augmented by Haydn would not have any reason to name him on the title.

²⁰⁵ See *D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813*: folio 98v features two obbligato oboe parts for Kain's aria *Welch ein Winseln schlägt mein Ohr*, which is notated in score for strings and voice on folios 99r-101r.

²⁰⁶ According to Walter Senn, 'Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg', *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch*, 333-68.

²⁰⁷ See Hintermaier, *Die Salzburger Hofkapelle*, 182-5.

²⁰⁸ Senn, 'Die Mozart-Überlieferung im Stift Heilig Kreuz zu Augsburg'.

²⁰⁹ See *Briefe*, iii, 313; *Letters*, 876.

²¹⁰ Waczkat states that *D-Mbs, Mus.ms.3813* 'was originally not related to the Salzburg performance' (Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 301). He assumes an Augsburg provenance of the score.

The *Musikalienarchiv* of the *Erzabtei St. Peter* holds several items connected to Rolle's oratorio and the performance in 1778. Firstly, the manuscript *A-Ssp, Hay1965.1* represents a piano reduction of the opening chorus of *Abels Tod* in Michael Haydn's hand.²¹¹ Secondly, *A-Ssp, Hay1965.2* is a full set of performance parts, possibly even the ones used for the performance on 3 September 1778: the material is written by Felix Hofstätter, who also copied the performance score. Thirdly, a printed textbook for the Salzburg performance survives under the shelfmark *A-Ssp, Hay1965.3*. While these three items probably stand in direct connection with the performance of *Der Tod Abels* in 1778, two further manuscripts document the continued esteem of the work in the decades afterwards. Two sets of parts of choruses from Rolle's oratorio with Latin contrafacta were written by Martin Bischofreiter in 1794: the opening chorus, titled *Lobgesang der Kinder Adams* in Rolle's oratorio, is turned into a *Lobgesang zu Ehren Gottes und Maria* [*A-Ssp, Hay1965.4*] and the last chorus *Ihr Rosen blüht* is appropriated as *Offertorium d. Beata Vergine Maria* [*A-Ssp, Hay1965.5*].

The archive of the *Franziskanerkloster Salzburg* contains a manuscript dating from around 1780 with an arrangement of the opening chorus of Rolle's oratorio for four voices and strings.²¹² Underneath the original German text *Lobt den Herrn*, the voice parts have a Latin contrafactum *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*. The choir archive in Wasserburg am Inn contains the same arrangement of Rolle's opening chorus as *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, this time with two additional horn parts.²¹³ The paper type and the fact that the scribe of the title page first assumed Anton Cajetan Adlgasser as composer of the piece clearly link this source with Salzburg.

At the Benedictine abbey *Kremsmünster* a performance of Rolle's *Der Tod Abels* took place on 10 June 1778, roughly three months before the Salzburg performance of the oratorio.²¹⁴ The occasion for the performance was the seventh anniversary of the election of abbot Ehrenbert III. Meyer. The original version of the work by Rolle and Patzke was given on the school theatre. An extant textbook with the title *Abel, ein Singspiel* reproduces faithfully Patzke's text without naming an author, but it

²¹¹ See also Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Die Musikaliensammlung der Erzabtei St. Peter in Salzburg – Katalog Erster Teil* (Salzburg, 1970), 274. Waczkat states incorrectly that this is a fragmentary piano reduction of Haydn's last scene in the hand of Martin Bischofreiter (Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 354).

²¹² [*A-Sfr*, 102].

²¹³ [*D-WS*, 576].

²¹⁴ See Altman Kellner, *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel, 1956), 473.

states explicitly that the music is by Rolle.²¹⁵ An appendix was added after the oratorio with the title '*Die Liebe von dem Neid verfolgt*' ('Love persecuted by Envy').²¹⁶ Headed '*Anwendung*', literally an 'application', this appendix spells out the moral lessons to be learned from Rolle's *Der Tod Abels* and it links the oratorio with the festivities of the day by extolling the virtue of the current abbot and by praising true brotherly love within the community of brethren, which stands in opposition to Cain's hypocrisy. The author of '*Die Liebe von dem Neid verfolgt*' probably was Beda Plank²¹⁷ and the music, a recitative, an aria and a chorus, was composed by the *regens chori* Georg Pasterwiz, who studied at the Salzburg university and took composition lessons with Eberlin in the 1750s.²¹⁸

The date and the version of the performance in Kremsmünster led to the speculation that Pasterwiz was responsible for the transmission of Rolle's musical drama to Kremsmünster and Salzburg.²¹⁹ Yet, it is equally possible that Pasterwiz or Plank or another Benedictine friar brought Rolle's music to Kremsmünster from Salzburg.²²⁰ Whether in a direct relationship or not, both performances seem ultimately to be based on the same original source, because the textbook in Kremsmünster also states that the 'music is by Herr Rolle music director in Berlin', making the same mistake as the Salzburg editors.²²¹

The music archive in Kremsmünster also holds an untitled and undated set of parts for *Der Tod Abels*, which might represent the performing material for the performance in 1778 [A-KR, H 114/110].²²² Furthermore, there are three compositions titled '*Adventode*' extant in Kremsmünster, which are based on music from Rolle's oratorio and which are written by Pasterwiz: '*Lobet den Herrn*' [A-KR, F10/74] is a contrafactum of the opening chorus from Rolle's oratorio, '*Hoffe zagendes Herz*' [A-KR, F 10/75] is based on the duet of Mehala and Thirza '*Fromm ist Abel*' and '*Ihr Väter, singt der Wonne Lieder*' [A-KR, F 10/76] is an arrangement of the

²¹⁵ *Abel : ein Singspiel aufgeführt von den akademischen Musen zu Kremsmünster im Jahre 1778* (Steyr, Wimmer, 1778) [A-KR, 891318]. I am grateful to Hauke Fill at the library in Kremsmünster, who patiently answered my initial questions regarding the textbook.

²¹⁶ Waczkat states that 'the position [of *Die Liebe von dem Neid verfolgt*] within the drama is unclear' (Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 354), but the extant textbook documents its placement.

²¹⁷ Although published anonymously, the textbook names Beda Plank in pencil on the cover and it is catalogued under 'Plank, Beda' at the library in Kremsmünster.

²¹⁸ Autograph parts of the music by Pasterwiz are extant [A-KR, G 27/22].

²¹⁹ See Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*, 304.

²²⁰ A detailed study of the sources could provide answers to the exact transmission history, but this would be beyond the scope of this chapter.

²²¹ *Abel : ein Singspiel*, 2.

²²² According to RISM the parts date from the last decade of the eighteenth century. See RISM ID no. 600178168.

other duet by Mehala and Thirza in Rolle's work '*Ach Schwester sing in meine Lieder*'. In addition, Pasterwiz also reworked Adam's first aria from *Der Tod Abels* into a piece for lent, adding a movement before Rolle's aria, which probably is of his own composition [A-KR, F 36/90]. Finally, there is an arrangement of the opening chorus as '*Aria de Resurrectione Domini*' [A-KR, I 42/20]: the manuscript parts are dated '1778' and not in Pasterwiz's hand.

Apparently, the university theatre was totally overcrowded for the Salzburg performance of *Der Tod Abels* on 3 September 1778: the abbot of the Benedictine monastery Ettal was turned away and even Beda Seeauer, the abbot of St. Peter, could not find a seat in the theatre.²²³ No documentation survives, if Leopold or Nannerl Mozart were present at the performance or even involved in it. The Mozart family had other worries at the time, a few months after the death of Maria Anna, and therefore the performance of Rolle's oratorio passes unmentioned in the letters exchanged between Leopold and Wolfgang. We can only assume that Leopold at least was aware of what happened at the university theatre, as musicians of the court music and singers from the *Kapellhaus*, where Leopold taught, were involved in the performance. The Mozarts could also be well acquainted with the subject of the oratorio, because they owned Gessner's version of the story: the prose pastoral *Der Tod Abels*, on which Patzke based his libretto, was part of the collected edition of Gessner's works, which the author presented them with in Zurich in 1766.²²⁴

4.4 The Mozart family and the culture of *Empfindsamkeit* in Salzburg

For today I can do nothing but weep – I have a far too sentimental heart.²²⁵

Wolfgang wrote these lines at a time of distress from Munich in late December 1778, when he was on the way home from the disastrous trip to Paris. He left Salzburg the year before with high hopes of securing an employment at one of the courts abroad or at least of earning a decent sum touring, but neither came true and the trip turned out to be a financial disaster. Furthermore, Wolfgang started out on this journey in company of his mother, whose passing in Paris in July 1778, far away from home, was a shock to the entire family. With this personal bereavement and the financial failure in the background, Wolfgang dreaded the return to Salzburg

²²³ See Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner*, 49.

²²⁴ See Chapter 3.7.

²²⁵ 'denn heüte kann ich nichts als weinen – ich habe gar ein zu empfindsames herz.' *Briefe*, ii, 529; *Letters*, 645.

and the personal encounter with his father. The trip also brought the growing tension between father and son to the fore, as in Leopold's view it was mainly Wolfgang's irresponsible behaviour that turned the trip into a debacle.²²⁶ Considering the circumstances, Wolfgang's tears are entirely understandable on a personal level. Yet, I would like to suggest that the tears might also be read in the larger cultural context of *Empfindsamkeit*, in which compassion and the display of a compassionate heart were regarded as a high value.

Musicological interest in the cultural dimension of eighteenth-century music and music making increased considerably during the last decades and thus *Empfindsamkeit* came into focus.²²⁷ Around the same time the term underwent a real fashion in literary studies on the eighteenth century.²²⁸ The works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach are most frequently associated with and discussed in relation to *Empfindsamkeit*, but recent studies on musical sensibility also focus on oratorios by Johann Heinrich Rolle,²²⁹ melodramas by Georg Benda²³⁰ or Luigi Boccherini's chamber music.²³¹ In connection with Leopold or Wolfgang Amadé Mozart *Empfindsamkeit* is rarely mentioned, even though both lived during the heyday of sensibility in the late eighteenth century. Only the opera *La finta giardiniera* (K196) which Wolfgang wrote for the Munich court in 1775 has been discussed in relation to *Empfindsamkeit*, as the plot of the opera constitutes a variant of the tremendously popular 'Pamela-story' based on Samuel Richardson's novel.²³² Neither of the two recent Mozart encyclopaedias, the German *Mozart-Lexikon* and the English *Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, includes a subject entry on *Empfindsamkeit* or sensibility.²³³ Generally, any affinity or even just interest in sensibility on the Mozarts' part is refuted right away.

²²⁶ For a detailed account of this trip, the hopes, the frustrations and the distress linked to it, see Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, 231–317.

²²⁷ See e.g. Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine : Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley, California, 2013); Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge, 2001); Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment* (Aldershot, 2004).

²²⁸ See e.g. Gerhard Sauder, ed., *Theorie der Empfindsamkeit und des Sturm und Drang* (Stuttgart, 2003); Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge, 2005); Hina Nazar, *Enlightened Sentiments* (New York, 2012).

²²⁹ See Waczkat, *Johann Heinrich Rolles musikalische Dramen*.

²³⁰ See Hans Ost, *Melodram und Malerei im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kassel, 2002).

²³¹ See Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body* (Berkeley, 2006).

²³² See Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment* (London, 1992), 17–37; and Jessica Waldo, 'Reading Mozart's operas "for the sentiment"', *Mozart Studies*, ed. Simon Keefe (Cambridge, 2006), 74–108.

²³³ See Gernot Gruber and Joachim Brügge, eds., *Das Mozart-Lexikon* (Laaber, 2005); and Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, eds., *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge, 2006).

For example, Renate Krüger states in a basic introduction to the culture of *Empfindsamkeit* that ‘the contact between Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the age of *Empfindsamkeit* and his musical participation in this fashion is extremely limited’.²³⁴ Although Krüger concedes that there are some points of contact, such as Wolfgang’s parody of an ode by Klopstock and his frequent display of weeping in the letters, ‘the North German sentimentality was extremely repugnant to [Wolfgang] as a South German’.²³⁵ Apparently, just alluding to the fixed idea of a rift between North and South Germany is enough of an argument. In this statement Krüger closely follows Alfred Einstein, who emphasises that Wolfgang was independent from ‘new currents of his time’ and thus ‘*Empfindsamkeit* was a passing phenomenon, which he mocked without hesitation’.²³⁶ Einstein’s statement betrays more about his personal aversion to *Empfindsamkeit* than about any confirmable opinion by Wolfgang. The low value accorded to *Empfindsamkeit* in the earlier twentieth century is blatantly obvious in Hermann Abert’s biography of Mozart. Abert calls *Empfindsamkeit* ‘the principal evil of the age’²³⁷ and speaks about ‘that other evil of the age, mawkish sentimentality’.²³⁸ In the following, a more differentiated picture of the Mozarts’ engagement with ideas of *Empfindsamkeit* will emerge.

4.4.1 The Mozarts, teardrops and the Salzburg theatre

The Mozarts lived right opposite the theatre since the ballroom at the Hannibalplatz (today’s Makartplatz) was converted into Salzburg’s first public theatre in 1775. The bulk of our knowledge on the Mozarts’ personal theatre fever comes from later letters written when Wolfgang was absent from Salzburg. For example, Wolfgang asked Nannerl to keep him informed about repertory and performers at the Salzburg theatre, when he was in Munich preparing *Idomeneo* in 1780, and she diligently sent him a detailed listing of all plays performed.²³⁹

Yet, we can safely assume that the Mozarts’ acute interest in the theatre was a constant feature in the 1770s and that they attended many performances during the inaugural season of the theatre. An entry in Nannerl’s diary substantiates this assumption: she notes that ‘on the 2nd [April 1776] the comedians departed by ship’

²³⁴ Renate Krüger, *Das Zeitalter der Empfindsamkeit* (Munich, 1972), 178.

²³⁵ Krüger, *Das Zeitalter der Empfindsamkeit*, 178–9.

²³⁶ Einstein, *Mozart*, 139–40.

²³⁷ Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, 645.

²³⁸ Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, 740.

²³⁹ See *Briefe*, iii, 35–7; *Letters*, 675 [excerpts only].

from Salzburg.²⁴⁰ The ‘comedians’ were the troupe of Karl Wahr, who finished their opening season on 20 February with the beginning of Lent. Presumably, Nannerl also followed the events at the theatre opposite their home during the months before, attending rehearsals, performances or eying up the theatregoers, just as she did in 1777: on 30 September Nannerl spent an hour observing the people flocking into the theatre to see Voltaire’s *Zaïre* with music by Michael Haydn through a theatre glass from their home.²⁴¹ She also attended a rehearsal for this ‘French comedy’ a few days before and a performance on 4 October.²⁴²

While we do not know for certain, if Leopold, Nannerl or Wolfgang shed some tears at the sight of Sophie Körner dying in Goethe’s drama *Clavigo* during the 1775–6 season, this is not entirely unlikely. Nannerl apparently was able to shed quite a few of these ‘humane teardrops’ in the theatre, as she noted in her diary on 19 May 1779: ‘we [i.e. Nannerl and Maria Anna Katharina ‘Katherl’ Gilowsky] went to the theatre²⁴³ and when I returned I had a headache, because I cried so much at the theatre’.²⁴⁴ The family correspondence relates another occasion, when Leopold and Johann Anton Ernst Gilowsky, Katherl’s cousin, went to the theatre and saw a performance of Giovanni Paisello’s *I Filosofi immaginari* in a German translation given by the *Waizhofersche Schauspielergesellschaft* in May 1785. In his letter to Nannerl, Leopold also mentioned a ‘second quite touching piece’ which was given on that evening.²⁴⁵

According to the *Salzburger Kundschaftsblatt*, a weekly gazette published as appendix to the *Oberdeutsche Staatszeitung* in Salzburg, this second piece was Joseph Karl Huber’s comedy in one act called *Macht solche Stiftungen lieben Leute*.²⁴⁶ The story features an elderly and rich merchant Perthold, childless and rather grumpy, who wants to set up an endowment for poor students. Perthold’s motivation is not just philanthropy, but he also hopes that ‘my name will live on after my demise’.²⁴⁷ His friend and confidant in this matter is the councillor Walter, who convinces Perthold to give his money to a poor cousin instead of setting up a foundation.

²⁴⁰ *NannerlDiary*, 10.

²⁴¹ See *NannerlDiary*, 27.

²⁴² See *NannerlDiary*, 27–8.

²⁴³ The troupe of Johann Heinrich Böhm was performing in Salzburg in that season, but the piece remains unidentified. See Angermüller, ‘Theaterprinzipale in Salzburg’, 282.

²⁴⁴ *NannerlDiary*, 52.

²⁴⁵ *Briefe*, iii, 396; not in *Letters*. The commentary to this letter does not identify the piece, see *Briefe*, vi, 233.

²⁴⁶ See *Wöchentlicher Anhang zur Oberdeutschen Staatszeitung oder Salzburger Kundschaftsblatt* (28 May 1785), 83.

²⁴⁷ Karl Huber, *Macht solche Stiftungen lieben Leute* (Frankfurt, s.n., 1785), 22.

Initially Perthold is reluctant to do this, but a personal meeting between Perthold and his cousin's family melts Perthold's heart – and presumably also the hearts of the audience: the family is pictured as poor but content and happy, pious and hard working. Being offered all the money of Perthold they plan to spend it on the education of their children and on buying a bakery, which is the trade the cousin originally trained for. Several side plots add to the sentimental character of the piece: Walter marries the stepdaughter of Perthold and both are portrayed as morally unadulterated young persons. Perthold's stepson studied law for eleven years and still did not finished his degree. Perthold wants him to take on a job as a clerk, but due to the intervention of Walter, he is allowed to continue his studies, to which he 'is attached with all his heart and soul'.²⁴⁸ So by the end of the play, all people on stage are content and happy and they reassure their mutual gratitude in countless variations.

While this story might seem entirely trivial to us nowadays, it was lauded for its depiction of feelings and of *Empfindsamkeit*, as human capacity, which ultimately lead to good deeds. After a performance of the piece in Vienna a couple of years later, an anonymous reviewer calls it 'one of the few good pieces, which aims at the portrayal of charitableness and of virtue, which alone is the source of happiness'.²⁴⁹ The narration of the piece is perceived as 'so beautiful, so entirely true to nature that the heart of every spectator will call in consent: this is thought out truthfully!'²⁵⁰ The truthfulness and the sentiments of Huber's comedy apparently also touched Leopold Mozart and Gilowsky in 1785: according to Leopold's letter, 'not only I, but also court councillor Gilowsky, who sat next to me, were moved to tears'.²⁵¹

Wolfgang refers frequently to his crying in his letters. Often it is a sorrowful farewell that brought the tears about and those tears are the proof of sincere friendship.²⁵² Occasionally, he also reports of musical performances that moved him to tears: in Munich in 1777 the prima donna Margarethe Kaiser, whom he watches through his theatre glass, plucked his heartstrings in a performance of Nicolo Piccini's *La pescatrice*²⁵³ and, a few months later in Mannheim, the performance of his piano sonata K309 by the thirteen year-old Rosa Cannabich made him cry.²⁵⁴ In

²⁴⁸ Huber, *Macht solche Stiftungen lieben Leute*, 14.

²⁴⁹ *Kritisches Theater-Journal von Wien* (Vienna, Ludwig, 1788), 117.

²⁵⁰ *Kritisches Theater-Journal von Wien*, 118.

²⁵¹ *Briefe*, iii, 396; not in *Letters*.

²⁵² See e.g. *Briefe*, ii, 328 & 502; *Letters*, 518 & 628.

²⁵³ See *Briefe*, ii, 29–30; *Letters*, 291.

²⁵⁴ See *Briefe*, ii, 178; *Letters*, 414.

his letters, Wolfgang speaks of tears as proof of his 'moved heart'²⁵⁵ and states that he himself had 'a far too sentimental heart'.²⁵⁶ On another occasion, Wolfgang gave his father a detailed report on news about the war of Bavarian succession from Paris on 20 July 1778 (yet another of his father's requests that Wolfgang remembers after the death of Maria Anna) and adds that 'I was so depressed and sad for three days – [the war] doesn't affect me, but I am too *empfindsam*'.²⁵⁷ In the end, it is less the specific occasions when Wolfgang shed tears that matter, but the way he displays his sentimental heart in his letters. Compassion and being moved, *Empfindsamkeit*, were obviously a valued capacity and understood as such within the Mozart family.

Since we know hardly anything specific about the education of the children in the Mozart household during the 1760s, it is impossible to assess how far an 'education of the heart' was part of it and *Empfindsamkeit* actively encouraged. Their ownership of Leprince de Beaumont's *Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder* at least does suggest such an education.²⁵⁸ Beyond that, we can only acknowledge the fact that many of the books recommended in the local educational treatises as beneficial readings for the education of the heart²⁵⁹ were part of the Mozarts' library, too, or at least known to them: for example, Gellert's moral writings, poetry by Rabener or Richardson's novel *Charles Grandison*.

4.4.2 Leopold Mozart's concepts of friendship

The family correspondence reveals quite a distinct picture of Leopold Mozart's attitude to and understanding of friendship. For Leopold, there is on the one hand an utilitarian concept of friendship and, on the other, there are the real friends, which Leopold calls 'best', 'honest', 'true' or 'sincere' friends. Tactical friendships and their fickleness come into focus very clearly in the family letters during Wolfgang and Maria Anna Mozart's journey towards Mannheim and Paris. Leopold was extremely wary of the credulity of his son and laments in a letter about the rarity of true friends in 'today's world':

²⁵⁵ See *Briefe*, ii, 44 & iii, 219; *Letters*, 303 & 813.

²⁵⁶ *Briefe*, ii, 529; *Letters*, 645.

²⁵⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 410; *Letters*, 574.

²⁵⁸ See Chapter 3.2.

²⁵⁹ See Chapter 4.1.

Keep well in mind, my son, that one single man in a thousand, who is your true friend without selfish motives, is one of the greatest wonders of this world.²⁶⁰

In particular, one always has to stay solvent, according to Leopold, because 'where there is no money, there is also no friend left'²⁶¹ and the second one gets into trouble 'all one's friends disappear'.²⁶² Despite Leopold's harsh criticism about this state of the world, he himself and Wolfgang were true virtuosos in employing tactical friendships to reach their goals. In Munich, for example, Leopold urged Wolfgang to make friends with Franz Xaver Woschitka, chamber virtuoso and valet of the Elector of Munich, as 'he has always the possibility to speak to the Elector and he is in great favour'.²⁶³ Apparently, Leopold pointed out the importance of Woschitka to his son before, as Wolfgang reported in a letter written only a day later that he and Woschitka were 'good friends now'.²⁶⁴

In Mannheim, Wolfgang immediately went to see the court music director Christian Cannabich²⁶⁵ and continued to visit him daily, in order to gain his support:

He has taken a great fancy to me. He has a daughter who plays the clavier quite nicely; and in order to properly make a friend of him I am now working at a sonata for her, which is almost finished save for the Rondo.²⁶⁶

Apparently, it was a common tactic to gain the favour of an important person by teaching their children. In Mannheim, Wolfgang planned or at least purported to use the same policy in order to attain the favour of the Elector and Leopold clearly approved of this. In addition, Leopold admonished his son also to befriend the governess, presumably because her influence on the children and the parents was crucially important in such a plot.²⁶⁷

While this sort of utilitarian friendship is a far cry away from the 'cult of friendship' celebrated in the late eighteenth century, the family correspondence also relates many occasions of 'true friendships'. One of these true friends in the 1760s is

²⁶⁰ 'Merke es dir wohl, mein Sohn, ein einziger Mensch unter 1000, der nicht aus Eigennutzen dein wahrer freund ist, ist eines der grösten Wunder dieser Welt.' *Briefe*, ii, 168; *Letters*, 406.

²⁶¹ *Briefe*, ii, 144; *Letters*, 389.

²⁶² *Briefe*, ii, 167; *Letters*, 406.

²⁶³ *Briefe*, ii, 19; *Letters*, 282.

²⁶⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 21; *Letters*, 283.

²⁶⁵ See *Briefe*, ii, 94 & 100; *Letters*, 350 & 355.

²⁶⁶ 'Er ist sehr für mich eingenommen, er hat eine tochter die ganz artig clavier spielt, und damit ich ihn mir recht zum freunde mache, so arbeite ich ietzt an einer Sonata für seine Mad:selle tochter, welche schon bis auf das Rondeau fertig ist.' *Briefe*, ii, 100; *Letters*, 355.

²⁶⁷ See *Briefe*, ii, 175; *Letters*, 411.

the Parisian Friedrich Melchior Grimm, whom Leopold calls 'our best friend' and 'my great friend',²⁶⁸ and a 'friend confirmed by oath'.²⁶⁹ The amity with Grimm exhibited a quality of true friendships that Leopold expressly mentioned in relation to their 'loyal travelling companions'²⁷⁰ on the journey to Paris, the Saxon barons Georg Wilhelm von Hopfgarten and Carl Friedrich von Bose: friendship could transcend religious and social differences as Grimm, Hopfgarten and Bose were Lutheran protestants and noblemen. From Paris Hopfgarten and Bose left for Italy in February 1764, planning to continue their travels to Vienna passing via Salzburg. For this reason Leopold gave them a letter of recommendation to Hagenauer and also wrote the following lines to his landlord separately:

And now it is time to tell you something about my two friends from Saxony, Baron von Hopfgarten and Baron von Bose. [...] Here you will find two men who have everything which honest men should have in this world; and, although they are both Lutherans, yet they are Lutherans of a different type and men from whose conversation I have often profited much.²⁷¹

In view of the Hagenauer family's strict catholic faith, Leopold stressed the impeccable character of the Lutheran friends and promised his landlord that 'their company will afford you a thousand pleasures'.²⁷² It never came to a meeting between Hopfgarten, Bose and Hagenauer in Salzburg, though: Bose died in Rome on 28 April 1764, a couple of months after his departure from Paris.²⁷³ When Leopold learned about Bose's death is not documented, but at some point he did mark the sign † next to Bose's name in his travel notices from Paris.²⁷⁴

While Leopold met Grimm, Bose and Hopfgarten in real life, true friendships were not necessarily built on such a personal acquaintance. As seen above in the portrait galleries of Gleim, Bach or count Firmian, 'friends' could also be people living far away or from the historical past and even mythological figures. Leopold's letters to Gellert and to the Baroness Waldstätten testify that Leopold, too, saw the crucial basis of friendship in a kindred spirit, in an attraction of the souls.

²⁶⁸ *Briefe*, i, 141; *Letters*, 43.

²⁶⁹ *Briefe*, i, 151; *Letters* 46.

²⁷⁰ *Briefe*, i, 140; *Letters*, 42.

²⁷¹ 'Nun ist es auch Zeit ihnen von meinen 2. Freunden aus Sachsen Herrn Barons v Hopfgarten und v Bose etwas zu sagen. [...] Hier werden sie 2. Menschen sehen, die alles haben, was ein ehrlicher Mann auf dieser Welt haben soll: und, wenn sie gleich beyde Lutheraner sind; so sind sie doch ganz andere Lutheraner, und Leuthe, an denen ich mich oft sehr erbauet habe.' *Briefe*, i, 140; *Letters*, 42-3.

²⁷² *Briefe*, i, 140; *Letters*, 43.

²⁷³ See Gellert, *Briefwechsel*, i, 405.

²⁷⁴ See *Briefe*, i, 117; not in *Letters*.

In 1754 Leopold Mozart wrote to Gellert, in order to offer his friendship to the Leipzig poet. While Leopold's letter is lost, Gellert's reply assured Leopold 'that I [Gellert] accept Your love and Your friendship with the same sincerity, as You offered them to me'.²⁷⁵ This mutual friendship was based on Leopold's admiration for Gellert's work and his 'noble character', which Leopold's 'beautiful and eloquent letter full of sentiment' exposed.²⁷⁶

Another instance, when Leopold offered his 'heartfelt true friendship' to a person he never met, is documented in his letters from 1782 to the Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten in Vienna. Waldstätten was a close friend of Wolfgang and his wife Constanze in Vienna and she was chosen by Wolfgang to communicate with his father, in order to convince him of the merits of Constanze. Only Leopold's letters are still extant from this exchange, but they show how he quickly warmed to the Baroness, because he felt 'a secret spiritual bond' established by the shared love for music and 'sensible books'.²⁷⁷ Leopold's first letter to Waldstätten is kept fairly formal in tone, but already here he offers 'not only my [...] heartfelt true friendship, but also my heartfelt esteem and reverence'.²⁷⁸ The next letter speaks of an 'invaluable friendship', which delighted Leopold beyond words. The 'spiritual bond' between them reminded Leopold of Christoph Martin Wieland's *Sympathien*, a book intended as glorification of the Platonic ideal of a kinship of human souls.²⁷⁹ Leopold closed his letter to Waldstätten with the desire to meet her in Vienna and thus to be able to express his gratitude to her in person. Perhaps this hope came true in 1785, when Leopold visited Wolfgang in Vienna and attended several concerts of his son.²⁸⁰

For Leopold, the bond of friendship was the noblest bond between people, even surpassing family ties. In February 1778 he signed off a letter to Wolfgang for the first time with 'not merely your father, but also your truest and surest friend'.²⁸¹ While this seems at first like a very enlightened, modern stance towards flattening out the typical hierarchy of a family and replacing it with a relationship on equal footing between father and son, Leopold often used this designation as a friend of

²⁷⁵ *Briefe*, i, 236–7; not in *Letters*.

²⁷⁶ *Briefe*, i, 236–7; not in *Letters*.

²⁷⁷ *Briefe*, iii, 228–9; *Letters*, 820–1.

²⁷⁸ *Briefe*, iii, 223; *Letters*, 816.

²⁷⁹ *Briefe*, iii, 229; *Letters*, 820.

²⁸⁰ Waldstätten is among the subscribers to Wolfgang's concert series the year before (see *Briefe*, iii, 305; *Letters*, 871).

²⁸¹ *Briefe*, ii, 258; *Letters*, 465. Josef Mancal pointed this out in Mancal, *Leopold Mozart und seine Familie auf Europareise*, 55–6.

his son, in order to add further pressure to his paternal advice. Thus the full context of the words above reads:

I know that you love me, not merely as your father, but also as your truest and surest friend; that you understand and realise that our happiness and unhappiness, and, what is more, my long life or my speedy death are, if I may say so, apart from God, in your hands.²⁸²

From now on, Leopold reiterated this claim to be Wolfgang's friend regularly in his letters, as if to cover up the growing tension between him and his son. Leopold signed the letters off as 'faithful father and surest friend',²⁸³ 'your most certain true friend and father',²⁸⁴ 'your true friend and honest father',²⁸⁵ and several other variations. After his wife Maria Anna died in Paris, Leopold asserted that either '[you] listen to me as your father and friend, or you dream castles in the air and kill your father by executing [these dreams]'.²⁸⁶ It was in this highly-strung situation after his mother's death that Wolfgang called his father 'my best father and truest friend' for the first time,²⁸⁷ quite possibly just because he knew about the value of this ideal for his father.

Yet, a letter dating from shortly after Maria Anna's death makes clear that Leopold truly aspired to the ideal of family members living together as friends and that he was not only using this image in order to pressurise his son. Writing to Ignaz Joseph Spaur, archbishop of Brixen, in order to congratulate him on his name day, Leopold told him about the passing of his wife and laments: 'A family had to be torn apart, which did not live together as parents and children, but as friends'.²⁸⁸

4.4.3 The Mozarts, portraits and a culture of remembrance and reverence

The Mozarts themselves did not systematically assemble a portrait collection, but they did partake in the eighteenth-century fashion of exchanging portraits and silhouettes. Also other objects, given to the Mozarts as keep-sakes, took on a similar function as the portraits at Gleim's home: they affirmed the spiritual bond of friendship across time and place. The Mozarts also paid tribute to some historically

²⁸² 'Ich weiß, daß du mich nicht allein als deinen Vatter, sondern auch als deinen gewissesten und sichersten Freund liebest; daß du weißt und einsiehst, daß unser Glück und Unglück, ja mein Längeres Leben, oder auch mein baldiger Todt, nächst Gott so zu sagen in deinen Händen ist.' *Briefe*, ii, 258; *Letters*, 465.

²⁸³ *Briefe*, ii, 258; *Letters*, 466.

²⁸⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 272; *Letters*, 474.

²⁸⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 457; *Letters*, 606.

²⁸⁶ *Briefe*, ii, 413; not in *Letters*.

²⁸⁷ *Briefe*, ii, 425; *Letters*, 586.

²⁸⁸ *Briefe*, ii, 431; not in *Letters*.

distant luminaries by visiting tombs and memorials of their admired artists. Such visits provided a way to establish personal emotional ties with luminaries of the past, just as hanging their pictures on walls at home.

In Antwerp, the family visited the tomb of the painter Rubens, which included a portrait of the painter and his family, as Leopold noted specifically.²⁸⁹ In Holland, they looked at the statue of Erasmus of Rotterdam 'with pleasure'.²⁹⁰ In May 1766 they visited the tomb of the poet Fénelon in Cambrai and Leopold contemplated the 'marmoreal bust' of the author.²⁹¹ In Naples in 1770 Leopold and Wolfgang went to see Vergil's tomb with its famous laurel willow, which was a common destination for Italy pilgrims from the North.²⁹² It is not documented whether the Mozarts broke off a branch from this tree and brought it back to Salzburg, but this was a typical sentimental gift of the times.²⁹³

The Mozarts were also actively involved in a culture of remembrance through objects. Friendships made on journeys often evolved during a very short time and one hoped to conserve such fleeting encounters of true friendship by exchanging a keepsake upon departure.²⁹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 3, books were a frequent keepsake given to the Mozarts on tour. Carl Friedrich von Bose gave Wolfgang a book by his teacher Gellert and the duchess Maria Anna Felicitas van Eyck presented Wolfgang with the little calendar *Etrennes Mignonnes* with her inscription 'I remain as always your faithful friend'.²⁹⁵ The Mozarts received several books from the brothers Johannes and Salomon Gessner and their family as 'tokens of their friendship' upon departure from Zurich in 1766.²⁹⁶ Salomon Gessner's handwritten dedication letter to his own collected writings, which he gave to the Mozarts, spells out the significance of this present as a memento to their mutual friendship:

²⁸⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 198; not in *Letters*.

²⁹⁰ *Briefe*, i, 203; *Letters*, 59.

²⁹¹ *Briefe*, i, 220; *Letters*, 65.

²⁹² See *Briefe*, i, 361; *Letters*, 144. For a description of the tomb, its attraction and its meaning for travellers in the eighteenth century, see Constanze Baum, *Ruinenlandschaften* (Heidelberg, 2013), 283–326.

²⁹³ The poet Johann Nikolaus Meinhard for example brought one of these branches to Halberstadt and gave it to Gleim. See Doris Schumacher, 'Freundschaft über den Tod hinaus', *Das Jahrhundert der Freundschaft*, ed. Ute Pott, 47.

²⁹⁴ For more information on the Mozarts' souvenirs, see Eisen, 'Mozart's Souvenirs'.

²⁹⁵ All information about the dedication and this event comes from an auction catalogue from 1892. See *Konrad/Staehelin*, 118–20.

²⁹⁶ *Briefe*, i, 231; *Letters*, 68.

Take, most valued friends, this present with the same friendship with which I give it to you, and may it be worthy of keeping my memory ever alive with you! [...] Do not, any of you, ever forget the friend whose high regard and love for you will remain as lively all his life as it is today.²⁹⁷

In 1778, upon departure from Mannheim, Fridolin Weber gave Wolfgang a complete edition of Molière's comedies with the following dedication: 'Accept, my friend, the works of Molière as a token of gratitude and think of me sometimes'.²⁹⁸

A favourite among the keepsakes of the later eighteenth century were certainly silhouettes and portraits and the Mozarts exchanged those as souvenirs throughout their lives, too. The most important portrait, which the Mozarts used for this purpose, was Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle's painting of Leopold playing his violin, Wolfgang seated at the harpsichord and Nannerl standing behind it singing. Leopold used the engraving of it for merchandising purposes on this tour, as well as selling it as a souvenir for years to come. For example, when Wolfgang and Leopold stayed in Munich for the production of Wolfgang's opera *La finta giardiniera* (K196) during the carnival season 1774–5, Leopold asked his wife to add five or six copies of the engraved portrait to Nannerl's luggage, who was about to join them for the premiere of the opera. Apparently, 'Herr von Pernat absolutely wants one, and the one or the other good friend, too'.²⁹⁹ It might well be that Leopold sold them to his friends, but the designation of 'good friends' points to the sentimental value of the engraving as a bond between friends, too.

In 1764 the Mozarts received an engraved portrait of Antoine de Sartine, Lieutenant de la police in Paris, who 'very much loved us', as Leopold remembered more than a decade later.³⁰⁰ Pietro Lugiat, a Venetian official in Verona, had a portrait of Wolfgang painted after he heard him play and pass a couple of musical tests with ease.³⁰¹ A newspaper report from the *Gazzetta di Mantova* on 12 January 1770 records Wolfgang's performance and the tests he underwent in detail and expressly mentions that among the music lovers, who heard Wolfgang, 'were the Signori Lugiat, who [...] in the end wished to have him painted from life for a lasting memorial'.³⁰² In April of the same year, Lugati wrote a letter to Maria Anna

²⁹⁷ *Dokumente*, 58; *Documentary Biography*, 60. A facsimile of the dedication letter is included in *DeutschBilder*, 81.

²⁹⁸ *Briefe*, ii, 328; *Letters*, 518.

²⁹⁹ *Briefe*, i, 512; *Letters*, 255.

³⁰⁰ *Briefe*, ii, 259; not in *Letters*.

³⁰¹ For a reproduction of this portrait, see *DeutschBilder*, 11. For Leopold's report of the painting being made, see *Briefe*, i, 299; *Letters*, 103.

³⁰² *Dokumente*, 96; *Documentary Biography*, 105.

Mozart in Salzburg, in which he describes the sentimental value of Wolfgang's portrait to him: 'this sweet likeness is a comfort to me, and it also serves as a stimulus to take up his Music from time to time, so far as my public and private preoccupations allow me'.³⁰³

In late 1777, Wolfgang and his cousin Maria Anna Thekla Mozart vowed to exchange portraits as keepsakes after Wolfgang's departure from Augsburg.³⁰⁴ At this point the 'very sad and sorrowful farewell'³⁰⁵ between Wolfgang and his cousin still amused the Salzburg family and friends. A target for their weekly shooting game featured Wolfgang and the cousin 'melting into tears'³⁰⁶ upon taking farewell.³⁰⁷ Maria Anna Thekla at least kept her promise and sent a portrait to Wolfgang early in 1778.³⁰⁸ When Leopold learned of this, he complained about the costly sentimental act of friendship between Wolfgang and his cousin,³⁰⁹ a reproach that Leopold repeated ten days later in another, by this point seriously angry, letter.³¹⁰ Whether Wolfgang also fulfilled his promise of sending a portrait to Maria Anna Thekla in Augsburg, is not entirely clear: according to Otto Jahn, a portrait miniature exhibited for a long time at the *Mozarthaus* in Augsburg and sold in 2014 at an auction by Sotheby's,³¹¹ is supposed to be the portrait that Mozart sent her in 1778,³¹² but this ascription is not without doubt.³¹³ The letters only document that Wolfgang and Maria Anna requested Leopold to send 'a little gem, a box or a toothpick case, or whatever, as long as it is beautiful' to the *Bäsele*.³¹⁴

Another occurrence in November 1777 indicates the value that Leopold Mozart accorded to portraits. Though Leopold was at first deeply sceptical about the new castrato Francesco Ceccarelli, who arrived in Salzburg in autumn 1777,³¹⁵ they

³⁰³ *Dokumente*, 108–9; *Documentary Biography*, 119–20.

³⁰⁴ See *Briefe*, ii, 104; *Letters*, 358.

³⁰⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 90; *Letters*, 345.

³⁰⁶ *Briefe*, ii, 99; *Letters*, 354.

³⁰⁷ For Leopold's detailed description of the painting on the target, see *Briefe*, ii, 128; *Letters*, 376.

³⁰⁸ This portrait is supposed to be the picture number 281 in *DeutschBilder*, 139.

³⁰⁹ See *Briefe*, ii, 250; *Letters*, 459.

³¹⁰ See *Briefe*, ii, 274; *Letters*, 476.

³¹¹ See Sotheby's auction catalogue for the auction on 20 November 2014, Lot No. 178: www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.178.html/2014/music-continental-books-manuscripts-114406 [accessed on 2 September 2015].

³¹² See Jahn, *W. A. Mozart*, ii, 74.

³¹³ See Otto Erich Deutsch, 'Mozart Portraits', *The Mozart Companion*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London, 1956), 8. For a black-and-white reproduction of the portrait and a short commentary, see *DeutschBilder*, 12 & 298.

³¹⁴ *Briefe*, ii, 103; *Letters*, 357.

³¹⁵ For the first impression Ceccarelli made on Nannerl and Leopold, see *Briefe*, ii, 87; *Letters*, 342.

quickly warmed to each other and Leopold invited him home to see Wolfgang's portrait.³¹⁶ Apparently, Ceccarelli had heard of Wolfgang and his extraordinary virtuosity in Italy and he regretted not to be able to meet him in person, as Wolfgang was already on his journey towards Paris.³¹⁷ Thus the portrait at their Salzburg home had to serve as compensatory substitute for a meeting in real life.

When Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl Mozart permanently lived in different places, the exchange of portraits also played a role within the family: in April 1783 Wolfgang sent two portraits, one of him and one of his wife Constanze, from Vienna³¹⁸ and the arrival of the portraits was important enough for Nannerl to merit an entry in her diary.³¹⁹ Leopold enclosed a portrait of a certain 'Nannerl' in a letter to his daughter in St. Gilgen from January 1786.³²⁰ Perhaps this was a silhouette of Nannerl's fourteen year-old stepdaughter Maria Anna Margarethe Berchtold von Sonnenburg, who was also called Nannerl, which Leopold posted back to St. Gilgen.³²¹ On 10 March 1786 Leopold's package with food and silk fabric for his daughter contained a silhouette of the castrato and close friend of the Mozarts, Michelangelo Bologna, whom Leopold saw during his visit to Munich for the carnival season that year.³²² A few months later, Leopold posted two more 'portraits' to Nannerl,³²³ which 'a student from here made, and [which] did cost no more than 30 kreutzer in all'.³²⁴ Considering the low price of these two images, they must be silhouettes rather than painted portraits.

Perhaps Nannerl had a particular interest in collecting silhouettes. Maria Margaretha Marchand stayed with Leopold and Nannerl in Salzburg between 1782 and 1784 and Leopold taught her keyboard playing, singing and composition. Before she returned to Munich in summer 1784, she wrote a letter to Nannerl, who had just married Johann Baptist Berchthold von Sonnenburg and moved to St. Gilgen. Marchand thanked her 'a thousand times for all the benevolence and care' that Nannerl showed to her 'from the first moment of [their] acquaintance' and

³¹⁶ See *Briefe*, ii, 98; *Letters*, 354.

³¹⁷ See *Briefe*, ii, 98; *Letters*, 354.

³¹⁸ See *Briefe*, iii, 262-3; *Letters*, 844.

³¹⁹ See *NannerlDiary*, 136.

³²⁰ See *Briefe*, iii, 490; not in *Letters*.

³²¹ As the commentary to *Briefe* suggests, see *Briefe*, vi, 270.

³²² See *Briefe*, iii, 515; not in *Letters*. The wording of the letter is ambiguous, if the silhouette is 'of' or 'made by' Bologna, and thus the commentary to *Briefe* assumes this to be a silhouette of Leopold Mozart made by Bologna in Munich. See *Briefe*, vi, 280.

³²³ See *Briefe*, iii, 560; not in *Letters*.

³²⁴ *Briefe*, iii, 569; not in *Letters*.

promised to send her 'in due course the silhouettes of [her] parents together with frames and glasses'.³²⁵

Wolfgang, too, valued portraits as a help to envisage the spiritual presence of his wife at times when they were physically separated: in 1789 Wolfgang took a portrait of Constanze with him on his journey to Berlin and he placed the picture on his desk, every time he wrote a letter to her.³²⁶ He even talked to the portrait as if he was talking to his wife in person:

Now farewell, my dearest and best, – remember that I talk to your portrait every night before I go to bed for a long half an hour, and the same I do when I wake up.³²⁷

³²⁵ *Briefe*, iii, 323; not in *Letters*.

³²⁶ See *Briefe*, iv, 84; *Letters*, 924.

³²⁷ 'Nun lebe wohl, liebste, beßte, – Denke daß ich alle Nacht ehe ich ins Bett gehe eine gute halbe Stunde mit deinem Portrait spreche, und so auch beym erwachen.' *Briefe*, iv, 84; *Letters*, 925.

Chapter 5 Musical *Empfindsamkeit* in Salzburg

...at such tender taste of these enlightened times.³²⁸

The preceding chapters demonstrated that Johann Andreas Schachtner's characterisation of his times in the preface to the collection of 'religious contemplations', which he published in Augsburg in 1758 with a dedication to Gottsched, held true not only for the North German domain of his dedicatee, but also for his own hometown Salzburg.³²⁹ The interests of the erudite citizens, the reading tastes, the theatre repertory, its reception by the Salzburg audience and the cult of friendship in town, all mirrored contemporary social and aesthetic trends in North Germany. The cultural transfer of books, plays and ideas from the northern part of Germany clearly played a considerable role within the intellectual, artistic and academic life in Salzburg during the second half of the eighteenth century. The current chapter will describe how the musical links between North Germany and Salzburg were much stronger than commonly assumed, too. While the personnel and the music at court displayed a strong Italian influence,³³⁰ the 'unofficial' musical repertoire in town, the music that sounded outside the court, official state functions and the main churches included a considerable proportion of works by North German composers.

It is in the realm of domestic music making that the influence of North German musical culture is most clearly visible. This part of Salzburg music culture hardly received any attention until now within musicological or historical research beyond the bare facts that Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl Mozart tutored some noble children in piano or violin playing. In the only article specifically devoted to the 'bourgeois music culture in eighteenth-century Salzburg', Ernst Hintermaier concentrates on the public performances within the city. Regarding domestic music making he states that it is beyond our knowledge and assumes that it only became widespread during the nineteenth century.³³¹ Yet, the large amount of music listed

³²⁸ '...bey so zärtlichem Geschmacke dieser aufgeklärten Zeiten.' Neumayr, *Geistliche Schaubühne*, trans. Johann Andreas Schachtner, preface [unpaginated].

³²⁹ Incidentally, the wording and the statement of this phrase is remarkably similar to Leopold Mozart's remark in the preface of the *Violinschule* that for a long time he did not dare to publish his treatise 'at such enlightened times'. See *Violinschule*, preface [unpaginated].

³³⁰ See e.g. Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart e l'Italia: il ruolo di Salisburgo', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, XXX/1 (1995), 51–84.

³³¹ Ernst Hintermaier, 'Bürgerliche Musikkultur des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Stadt Salzburg', *Städtische Kultur in der Barockzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz, 1982), 156.

in sales catalogues by the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* and by the itinerant book traders suggest a lively culture of domestic music making in the later eighteenth century.

The first part of this chapter will investigate the music trade in Salzburg and provide an overview on the sales channels (Chapter 5.1). This is followed by a detailed documentation of North German publications available in town (Chapter 5.2). After this, the Mozarts' knowledge and ownership of music from North Germany will be examined (Chapter 5.3), before a separate section looks at their acquaintance with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's music in particular (Chapter 5.4).

5.1 Music trade in Salzburg

The sales channels and the availability of foreign sheet music in Salzburg were not known in detail so far. Previously unnoticed, the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* did not only sell books but also some sheet music, as was customary for a book dealer in the eighteenth century. The sales catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* from the 1780s included many musical publications printed by Johann Jakob Lotter in Augsburg. For example in October 1782, Mayr advertised three music treatises published by Lotter: *Gründlicher Unterricht den Generalbaß recht zu erlernen* by Johann Xaver Nauss, the anonymously published *Rudimenta panduristae, oder Geig-Fundamenta* and Joseph Münster's *Vollkommener Unterricht die edle Chormusik denen Regeln gemäß aus dem Fundament zu erlernen*. Mayr stocked a large selection of Lotter's publications of church music by composers such as Joseph Lederer, Marianus Königsperger or Johann Anton Kobrich. Very often these church compositions allowed expressly for flexible or small performance forces, so as to increase their commercial viability.

According to its full title Lederer's collection of six masses are 'short, simple, tuneful, consisting of a descant and alto, which have all the solos, tenor, bass, two violins, organ and violoncello', thus the settings are particularly apt for the performance by 'choirs on the countryside and in nunneries'.³³² Similarly, only two voices and a bass provided by the organ or violoncello are absolutely necessary in Königsperger's *Sacrae ruris deliciae*, another collection of six mass and two requiem

³³² Joseph Lederer, *Sechs Messen, kurz, leicht, saengerisch, bestehend in Discant und Alt, welche allein die Solo haben, Tenor, Baß, zweyen Violinen, Orgel und Violoncello, hauptsaechlich zum Gebrauch der Choere auf dem Lande und der Frauenkloester* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1781).

settings. Other voices and instruments can be added to make up a four-part chorus and an ensemble of two violins and two horns in addition to the continuo.³³³

Apart from Lotter's prints, Mayr advertised a fair amount of music books and sheet music of north German origin. These were mainly music treatises, piano pieces and songs, a repertory clearly aimed at a bourgeois market of amateur music lovers, which I will detail below.

All the itinerant book traders coming to the Salzburg fairs also dealt with sheet music and their sales catalogues prove the general availability of a wide range of music publications in Salzburg. It is impossible to determine which of the advertised volumes of sheet music the traders Lotter, Wolff, Schwarzkopf and Klett brought to Salzburg in physical copies for the fairs. Yet, as described above, they ascertain to 'endeavour to supply any missing [book] within a short time'.³³⁴ Similar to the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* the itinerant book traders concentrate on sheet music and theoretical literature for the amateur musician.

In addition to these general book traders, who also dealt with some music, there were two specialist music dealers and publishers active on the Salzburg market: Johann Jakob Lotter from Augsburg and Johann Ulrich Haffner from Nuremberg. Lotter was the music publisher with the strongest presence in Salzburg during the second half of the eighteenth century.³³⁵ As is well known, Leopold Mozart distributed Lotter's publications, but Lotter himself also visited the Salzburg fairs during the 1740s and 1750s. Lotter published music catalogues fairly regularly³³⁶ and the surviving catalogues prove his repeated presence at the Salzburg fairs between 1741 and 1759. The extant catalogues from this period all state on the title pages that Lotter visited both of the Salzburg fairs.³³⁷

On the title page of the following surviving catalogue from 1773, the reference to the Salzburg fairs is missing.³³⁸ This might well be due to the fact that Lotter found a permanent distributing channel for his publications in Salzburg. Apparently, Lotter

³³³ Marianus Königspurger, *Sacrae ruris deliciae, seu VI. Missae rurales, quibus accedunt II. Missae de requiem* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1769).

³³⁴ [Joseph Wolff], *Monathliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Augsburg in der Joseph Wolffischen Buchhandlung zu haben sind* (Augsburg, Wolff, 1774), preface [unpaginated].

³³⁵ For a full account of Lotter's publications and his business dealings in general, see Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*.

³³⁶ For a list of surviving music catalogues by Johann Jakob Lotter, see Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 49–56.

³³⁷ Catalogues, which mention Salzburg as point of sale, survive for the years 1741, 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757 and 1759. See Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 52–3; and Mancal, 'Zum Augsburger Druck-, Verlags- und Handelswesen im Musikalienbereich', 898.

³³⁸ See Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 53.

co-operated with the *Ekebrechtsche Buchhandlung* in Salzburg: in 1768, he advertised mass settings by Marianus Königsberger and Anton Kobrich in the *Augsburgische Ordinari Post-Zeitung* and added that 'these and further sheet music can also be acquired in Salzburg at Herr Eckenbrecht, book trader'.³³⁹ The co-operation with the *Ekebrechtsche Buchhandlung* is only firmly documented in this advert, but the large amount of music published by Lotter in the catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* lets one assume that the close business ties continued after the *Ekebrechtsche Buchhandlung* was taken over by the Mayr firm in 1770.

Lotter's main focus as publisher was on sacred music for the Catholic church, even though he himself was Protestant: out of 468 known publications 298 were of music for the church and even within the remaining publications many were songs or instrumental music for domestic devotion.³⁴⁰ Lotter also distributed printed music by other publishers on a large scale, acting as an intermediary between international music publishers and his South German and Austrian market.³⁴¹ In 1754, for example, Lotter listed items printed in Amsterdam, Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and Cologne in his catalogue, as well as a great amount of music published in Nuremberg, mostly by Johann Ulrich Haffner.³⁴²

Haffner founded his music publishing and trading company in Nuremberg around 1740 and quickly established himself as the leading music publisher in town during the mid-eighteenth century.³⁴³ No documents survive that point to Haffner's personal attendance at the Salzburg fairs at any time, but his sales catalogue of 1760 lists Leopold Mozart as his agent in Salzburg.³⁴⁴ Other agents named demonstrate that Haffner's business network reached across the whole of Northern Europe from East to West: his music editions were available at agents in Kaliningrad, Prague, Berlin, Stockholm, Amsterdam and London. The agents were mostly book traders, such as Lotter in Augsburg, and some musicians. In Frankfurt, for example, the

³³⁹ *Augsburgische Ordinari Post-Zeitung*, No. 282 (25 November 1768). Cited in Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 19.

³⁴⁰ Statistics cited after Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 35.

³⁴¹ In addition to the Salzburg fairs, Lotter was present at both annual fairs in Munich during the 1730s until the 1760s and occasionally in Landshut, too. See Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 49–53.

³⁴² See Johann Jakob Lotter, *Catalogus aller musicalischen Bücher* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1754).

³⁴³ For biographical information and a description of his publishing output, see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner', *Acta Musicologica*, xxvi/3 (1954), 114–26.

³⁴⁴ See Johann Ulrich Haffner, *Verzeichniß derjenigen Musikalien, welche bey Johann Ulrich Haffner, Lautenisten in Nürnberg, in der breiten Gasse, im wilden Mann wohnend, zu haben sind* (Nürnberg, Haffner, 1760), unpaginated [pages 15–6 on my count].

organist David Otto distributed Haffner's publications,³⁴⁵ Georg Anton Benda was Haffner's agent in Gotha and Johann Anton Kobrich in Landsberg am Lech in Bavaria.

To my knowledge, the catalogue of 1760³⁴⁶ is the only one by Haffner extant today³⁴⁷ and therefore it is impossible to verify, since when Leopold Mozart acted as agent for Haffner. The cooperation between Leopold and Haffner certainly continued beyond Haffner's death in 1767. The Haffner firm still owed some debt to Leopold in autumn 1770, but Leopold was not worried about this as he had 'very many of [Haffner's] publications in my possession, so that I'm adequately covered'.³⁴⁸ Thus during the 1760s Leopold stocked a sizeable amount of Haffner's publications at his Salzburg home. Reciprocally, Haffner distributed publications of the Mozarts: Leopold's violin school,³⁴⁹ Wolfgang's first two sets of sonatas for keyboard and violin printed in Paris (K6–9)³⁵⁰ and also the engravings of the family portrait.³⁵¹

The publishing output by Haffner differed starkly from Lotter's programme: Haffner mainly printed music for domestic music making. Accompanied and unaccompanied keyboard music, songs or chamber music for small ensembles made up the largest part of his output, but he also issued some symphonies by Johan Agrell and Christoph Förster.³⁵² Haffner's stock as dealer of sheet music reflects his extensive business network: in the catalogue of 1760 Haffner advertises publications from London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Liege, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig and Vienna.

³⁴⁵ Otto also sold Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* in commission. See *Briefe*, i, 357; not in *Letters*.

³⁴⁶ The dating of this catalogue is uncertain: Hoffmann-Erbrecht dates the catalogue '1759', the *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*, which holds a copy of the catalogue, states '1760', which is the date I will use as reference. Yet, the catalogue might date from 1761, as several publications advertised seem to postdate 1760 (yet, the dating of the plate numbers by Hoffmann-Erbrecht is not beyond doubt). See Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner'.

³⁴⁷ According to Hoffmann-Erbrecht Haffner advertised catalogues in 1746, 1748 and 1756 in the Nuremberg newspaper *Friedens- und Criegs-Curier*. See Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner', 117.

³⁴⁸ *Briefe*, i, 389; not in *Letters*.

³⁴⁹ The *Violinschule* is listed in the 1760 sales catalogue (see Haffner, *Verzeichniß derjenigen Musikalien*, unpaginated [page 8 on my count]) and the family correspondence documents that twelve copies of the *Violinschule* are sent to Haffner's widow in 1770 (see *Briefe*, i, 389; not in *Letters*).

³⁵⁰ See *Briefe*, i, 179; *Letters*, 55.

³⁵¹ See *Briefe*, i, 191; not in *Letters*.

³⁵² The statistics given by Hoffmann-Erbrecht provide an idea of the set-up of Haffner's publications, although Hoffmann-Erbrecht's list of publications has considerable gaps: 84 works for solo piano, 17 works for 2 to 4 instruments (including piano concertos), 9 vocal works with piano or orchestral accompaniment, 6 orchestral works and 6 miscellanea. See Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner', 125.

As with his own publishing activity, most titles distributed by Haffner were items for domestic music making.

5.2 Availability of North German music in Salzburg

In the following, I will document the music books and the sheet music printed or composed in North Germany, which was available in Salzburg during the 1770s and early 1780s, sorted according to genres.³⁵³ The documentation is based on extant sales catalogues of the book and music traders.³⁵⁴ In the case of Haffner's catalogue, only his own publications are included, because Leopold dealt only with Haffner's original editions and not with the items from other publishers distributed by Haffner.³⁵⁵

5.2.1 Theoretical literature and instrumental treatises

The book traders active in Salzburg offered a wide range of theoretical literature on music and instrumental treatises. These included local treatises by Johann Baptist Samber and Matthäus Gugl dating from the early eighteenth century and many treatises published by the Lotter firm in Augsburg. Yet, a comprehensive selection of books on music and music treatises by north German authors or published in North Germany was also available in town. In particular the writings of Johann Mattheson, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg and Georg Andreas Sorge featured frequently in the sales catalogues of the book traders. The large amount of music literature and music treatises reflected the trend to a more structured and scientific music education, as opposed to the purely oral tradition of teaching music. It also shows how music education and musical knowledge became part of the general culture of educated citizens. Some highly specialised books on organ building or mathematical calculations of tunings were advertised by the book traders, too, even though these books probably did not appeal to a wide audience.

Regarding general music books, the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* stocked Joseph Martin Kraus's *Etwas von und über Musik* and Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Musikalische*

³⁵³ A complete list of all North German titles available in Salzburg and full details are given in Appendix L.

³⁵⁴ Bibliographical details and locations of the sales catalogues consulted can be found at the end of Appendix L.

³⁵⁵ In the postscript to his sales catalogue Haffner states 'that all music publications not marked with an asterisk' are available at his agents. The asterisks specify editions by other publishers. See Haffner, *Verzeichniß derjenigen Musikalien*, unpaginated [page 16 on my count].

kritische Bibliothek in two volumes. Johann Adam Hiller's book *Über die Musik und deren Wirkungen* and Johann Joseph Kausch's *Psychologische Abhandlung über den Einfluss der Toene und ins besondere der Musik auf die Seele* were available through Eberhard Klett. Johann Jakob Lotter distributed Johann Wilhelm Hertel's *Sammlung musikalischer Schriften*, Johann Carl Conrad Oelrich's *Historische Nachricht von den akademischen Würden in der Musik* and an anonymous satire titled *Lächerliches Quatuor* ('ridiculous quartet'). Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend* appropriated the popular format of travel literature written in the form of fictional letters for a music book. The two volumes of this work were sold by Schwarzkopf in 1776.

Some of the epoch-making musical journals from Berlin and Leipzig were also available in Salzburg: Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Lorenz Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek* and his *Musikalischer Staarstecher* and all three volumes of the second edition of Scheibe's *Critischer Musikus*, published by Breitkopf in 1745, were distributed by the Lotter brothers.

Johann Gottfried Walther's seminal music dictionary, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec*, was among Johann Jakob Lotter's stock for the entire time under consideration. A biography and an engraved portrait of Georg Philipp Telemann within J. J. Lotter's catalogues points to the popularity of the Hamburg city music director in southern Germany.

A wide array of works by the multifaceted musician, theorist and scholar Johann Mattheson was advertised by the Lotter brothers: all three 'Orchestre'-books (*Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, *Das beschützte Orchestre* and *Das forschende Orchestre*), *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* and its precursor *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*. Mattheson's comprehensive treatise on figured bass *Grosse General-Baß-Schule* and its less detailed sibling *Kleine General-Baß-Schule* were also available from Lotter between 1748 and 1759.

The interested reader in Salzburg could also acquire some of the more speculative late works by Mattheson: *Das erläuterte Selah*, *Die neuangelegte Freuden-Akademie*, *Plus ultra*, *Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele* and *Philologisches Tresespiel*. Johann Heinrich Buttstett's aggressive attack on Mattheson's first *Orchestre*-book called *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, Tota Musica et Harmonia Aeterna*, published around 1715, was still being sold in Salzburg in 1779. In his book Buttstett tried to reassure the eternal validity of traditional music theory against the newfangled writings by Mattheson.

Other treatises on music in general from North Germany, include Johann Lorenz Albrecht's *Gründliche Einleitung in die Anfangslehren der Tonkunst* and an anonymous treatise called *Kurze Anweisung zu den ersten Anfangsgründen der Musik*, both published in Langensalza in Thuringia. Johann Samuel Petri's *Anleitung zur practischen Musik* was a book which attempted to provide a complete guide to practical music making. It included sections on figured bass, on playing the most common instruments (keyboard, strings and flute) and also on instrument building.

The composition and ground bass treatises available on the Salzburg market encompass the full range from highly complex treatises to simple introductions for the amateur *Liebhaber*. Marpurg's specialised treatise on fugues and fugal counterpoint, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, clearly belongs to the first category, as does his *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse*. In 1758 Marpurg started an educational anthology of fugues, titled *Fugen-Sammlung*, which he planned to continue annually, but only the first volume got published and was distributed in Salzburg. Another compositional treatise edited by Marpurg was available in Salzburg: the *Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst nach den Lehrsätzen des Herrn Rameau* was a translation of Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's book. Lotter regularly advertised Johann Joseph Fux's counterpoint treatise *Gradus ad parnassum* in Mizler's German translation. Two composition treatises and a historical work by Johann Adolph Scheibe were sold in Salzburg and Johann Philipp Kirnberger's *Anleitung zur Singekomposition* was immediately advertised in Klett's catalogue in the year after its publication in 1782.

Figured bass still was the foundation of any compositional training. In addition to the treatises on this subject mentioned above, writings on figured bass by David Kellner, Johann David Heinichen, Johann Friedrich Daube, Lorenz Mizler, Christoph Gottlob Schröter were available in Salzburg. Christoph Nichelmann's work *Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen und nach ihren Eigenschaften* was one of the few composition treatises focusing on melody rather than harmony and the work featured regularly in Lotter's catalogues right after its first publication.

A diverse range of instrumental treatises from North Germany could also be purchased in Salzburg. Both volumes of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's keyboard treatise *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* were sold by Lotter and Georg Simon Löhlein's keyboard treatise was available in its first and second edition. Lotter also distributed the two works on keyboard playing published by Marpurg: firstly, *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* and, secondly, *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönen Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäß*. In particular the first

treatise, the shorter and earlier work, was a great commercial success for Lotter: he advertised the work in the edition printed by Haude & Spener in Berlin throughout the 1750s, before he issued his own edition of the treatise in 1761, which appeared in his sales catalogues and sales advertisements until 1829.³⁵⁶

Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeburg's *Der sich selbst informirende Clavierspieler* was a work that purported to be a complete guide for the autodidact keyboard student and Tobias Elias Lotter advertised all three volumes of the treatise in 1776. In 1783, the book trader Klett stocked a piano treatise written particularly for children by Georg Friedrich Merbach, published in Leipzig in 1782.

Three more practical music treatises published in northern Germany were advertised within the sales catalogues of the book traders in Salzburg: Löhlein's *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*, Johann Friedrich Agricola's translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's singing treatise and Johann Joachim Quantz's *Versuch einer Anleitung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* in two editions.

Specialist books on the questions of tuning temperaments for keyboard instruments by Barthold Fritz and Johann Georg Neidhardt were advertised by Lotter, as well as three publications by Georg Andreas Sorge dealing with the subject of mathematical proportions of intervals and tuning. Finally, some books on organ-building and evaluation were among the stock of the book traders in Salzburg, such as Andreas Werckmeister's *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgelprobe* in two editions or Sorge's *Der in der Rechen- und Meßkunst wohlerrfahrene Orgelbaumeister*.

Only a small selection of these books survives in Salzburg archives and libraries today. Compositional treatises by Mattheson, Niedt and Kirnberger, continuo treatises by Mattheson and Kellner, the singing treatise by Tosi edited by Agricola and instrumental treatises by Bach for keyboard and by Quantz for the flute are still part of the collections of the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* and of the *Salzburg Museum*. Some of these volumes can be securely attributed to a specific owner in the eighteenth century. For example, Blasius Rauschgatt, who was cantor, teacher and organist in Dürrnberg near Salzburg before being appointed sacristan at the town of Hallein in 1773,³⁵⁷ owned the first part of Bach's *Versuch* in its third edition printed

³⁵⁶ See Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter*, 170.

³⁵⁷ Blasius Rauschgatt was also the dedicatee of Josef Wölfl's six sonatas for two oboes, two horns and two bassoons. See Joseph Wölfl, *Divertimento (Sonate) für zwei Oboen, zwei Hörner und zwei Fagotte*, ed. Gerhard Walterskirchen (Bad Reichenhall, 1992), pages VII–VIII.

in 1787.³⁵⁸ Afterwards this volume came into the possession of Cajetan Pergler, whom I could not identify with certainty. Pergler, probably living around 1800, clearly was musically interested as there are two more treatises within the collection of the *Salzburg Museum* that carry his signature or an ownership stamp: Johann Mattheson's *Kern Melodischer Wissenschaft*³⁵⁹ and the second volume of Johann Philipp Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*.³⁶⁰

Another musically interested school teacher owned Marpurg's treatise on tuning and temperament *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur*: the volume at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* is signed 'Hochecker, Prof'³⁶¹ and more sheet music from the estate of 'Joseph Hochecker' or 'Joseph Hohegger' is held at the *Franziskanerkloster Salzburg*, where he is called a 'school-teacher'.³⁶² Volume two of Friedrich Erhard Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung* has on its last page some arithmetic calculation scribbled in and it is signed with 'Valentin Hochleitner, Orgelmacher zu Spital'.³⁶³ In 1770 the organ builder Valentin Hochleitner was responsible for building the new organ at the abbey Schlierbach, roughly 100 kilometres east of Salzburg.

5.2.2 Keyboard music

The North German keyboard music available on the Salzburg market ranged from technically easy, gallant pieces for piano solo to piano concertos by Johann Christoph Friedrich and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johan Joachim Agrell and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf.

The family of keyboard instruments was the favourite type of instrument for domestic music making during the second half of the eighteenth century and a large amount of printed sheet music fed the public's desire for technically easy but pleasing sonatas, dances and variations. Many of these publications highlight their suitability for the amateur in their titles: for example, Johann Nikolaus Tischer's three volumes *Das vergnügte Ohr und der erquickte Geist* ('the delighted ear and the refreshed mind') detail in their subtitle that each of the volumes contains 'six gallant

³⁵⁸ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, i (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1787) [A-Sca, 17059].

³⁵⁹ Johann Mattheson, *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (Hamburg, Herold, 1737) [A-Sca, 17762].

³⁶⁰ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, ii/1 (Berlin, Decker, 1776) [A-Sca, 17763].

³⁶¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur* (Wroclaw, Korn, 1776) [A-Su, 73348 I].

³⁶² See e.g. [A-Sfr, no shelfmark; RISM ID number 653005866].

³⁶³ Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung*, ed. Johann Mattheson, ii (Hamburg, Schiller, 1721) [A-Sca, 17068].

partitas for the practice of the *Clavier*', assembled specifically for the ladies 'in a simple and applicable style'.³⁶⁴

According to the sales catalogues of J. J. Lotter and Haffner, Tischer's keyboard music was a great success on the contemporary market. Apart from the three volumes of *Das vergnügte Ohr und der erquickte Geist*, Haffner also issued Tischer's *Divertissement musical* in three volumes and five volumes of *Sechs leichte und dabey angenehme Clavier-Parthien*, which were specifically composed for beginners. All three collections were first advertised in Lotter's catalogue of 1748 and they remained in stock throughout the 1750s. Tischer's seven volumes of *Musicalische Zwillinge* displayed an equal longevity in Lotter's sales catalogues: published by Balthasar Schmid, each volume of these 'musical twins' contained two concertos for keyboard solo in the major and minor mode of one key. Tischer's two sets of six 'small suites' called *Anmuthige Clavier-Früchte* was composed especially for children, 'which cannot reach a full octave [with their hands] yet'. Published by Johann Wilhelm Windter around 1740, Lotter advertised them in his sales catalogue of 1748.

Not only the theoretical writings, but also a large selection of keyboard compositions by Georg Andreas Sorge were available in Salzburg. While a set of 24 short preludes is specifically designated as a work for the beginner, Sorge's publications for keyboard often include the remark that they are written 'in the new style' or according to 'modern taste'. Presumably, this indication was meant to appeal to the amateur musicians: a collection of 24 'melodious [and] harmonious' preludes titled *Clavier-Übung*, a set of three sonatas as well as a collection of sonatinas, fantasias, 'toccatinas' and sinfonias for *Clavier* included this indication in their titles. The three volumes of six sonatinas 'set according to Italian taste' by Sorge are similarly aimed at the amateur market. All of these works were published by Schmid in Nuremberg and J. J. Lotter advertised them in his sales catalogues. Around 1745, Ulrich Haffner issued six keyboard partitas by Sorge called *Wohlgewürzte Klang-Speise*. Furthermore, a collection of twelve minuets by Sorge that could be played on the keyboard, the flute or the violin with an accompaniment on the cello or keyboard and an unidentified 'circle-aria', which moves through all 24 keys if repeated six times, were available in Salzburg.

From our perspective today, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's keyboard works seem to belong to a totally different musical category and they are held in much higher

³⁶⁴ Johann Nikolaus Tischer, *Das vergnügte Ohr und der erquickte Geist, in sechs Galanterie-Parthien zur Clavier-Übung für das Frauenzimmer, in einer leichten und applicablen Composition dargestellt*, 3 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746–8).

regard than Sorge's or Tischer's compositions. Yet, commercially, some of Bach's works were aimed at exactly the same market of more or less proficient musical amateurs. Bach's earliest published collections of sonatas were printed in Nuremberg: the six 'Prussian Sonatas' (Wq48)³⁶⁵ by Balthasar Schmid in 1742 and the six 'Württemberg Sonatas' (Wq49) by Ulrich Haffner two years later. Both sets were probably available on the Salzburg market. This is clear without doubt for the 'Württemberg Sonatas' printed by Haffner. In the case of the 'Prussian Sonatas' evidence is not as clear-cut. In 1748 and 1753 J. J. Lotter advertised '*VI Sonate per Cembalo*' and '*VI Sonatae per Cembalo, auf Regal-Papier*' respectively: my assumption is that these advertisements refer to the 'Prussian Sonatas' because there is no opus number given. The six sonatas dedicated to King Frederic II of Prussia were issued without opus number by Schmid, while Haffner published his set of sonatas by Bach as 'opus II'. All catalogues by Lotter from 1753 to 1773 consistently identify the 'Württemberg Sonatas' as 'opus II'. Furthermore, the catalogue of 1753, which lists the '*VI Sonatae per Cembalo, auf Regal-Papier*' ('six sonatas for the harpsichord on regal paper'), advertises right underneath '*VI Sonate per Cembalo Opera II. [...] ordinair Papier*' ('six sonatas for the harpsichord, op.2, [...] ordinary paper'): if these items were two different imprints of the same set of sonatas, one on regal paper, the other on normal paper, then it does not make sense to have the second item listed as 'opus II' and the first without an opus number.³⁶⁶

In Bach's *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen* (Wq113) a third set of keyboard works by the composer was available on the Salzburg market. First published by Georg Ludwig Winter in Berlin in 1766, J. J. Lotter issued a (probably unauthorised) reprint of the collection in 1768. These keyboard pieces were specifically designed for the beginner and included detailed fingerings.

During the 1750s Lotter advertised regularly another collection of '*VI Sonates nouveaux per Cembalo*' by Bach in his sales catalogues. According to Lotter's listings, the set was printed in Nuremberg in 1751, but no copy of these sonatas is extant today. Thus it is impossible to verify whether they were an unauthorised edition of actual compositions by Bach or sonatas composed by someone else and sold under Bach's name. Apparently, Bach saw this advert in Lotter's catalogue of 1753 soon after its publication, because he complained about the '*VI Sonates nouveaux*' in the

³⁶⁵ The corresponding Helm numbers for the works of C. P. E. Bach are given in the appendix. Only if a work is missing in Wotquenne's catalogue, Helm numbers are given in the main text.

³⁶⁶ In case the same edition was offered in two versions, Lotter probably would list the item once and then write '*idem. auf ordinair Papier*'.

first part of his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, which appeared also in 1753:

I am not involved [...] in the publication of the [sonatas], which are listed on page eight of **Lotter's Catalogue of all musical books** of this year under my given and my family name and under the following exact title: *VI Sonates nouveaux per Cembalo*, 1751.³⁶⁷

Although these sonatas were not authentic, the advert in Lotter's catalogue shows that C. P. E. Bach's name was clearly a draw on the markets of South Germany and Austria. Furthermore, Lotter's sales catalogues apparently had a reach as far North as Berlin.³⁶⁸

Many more collections of sonatas for solo keyboard printed in Nuremberg were sold in Salzburg: Johan Joachim Agrell's two sets of six sonatas published by Haffner and Christoph Riegel, sonatas by Johann Wilhelm Hertel, Giovanni Ernesto Lichtensteiger, Johann Gottfried Müthel, Johann Christoph Ritter and Christoph Schaffrath, all published by Haffner, and two collections of six short sonatas by Christoph Nichelmann '*all'uso delle dame*' published by Balthasar Schmid. Three volumes of solo keyboard music by Johann Ludwig Krebs, a pupil of Johann Sebastian Bach at the *Thomasschule* in Leipzig, appeared repeatedly in the sales catalogues of J. J. Lotter and Haffner, who was also the publisher of the works. Johann Peter Kellner was another composer from Thuringia, whose keyboard music clearly fared well on the South German market: J. J. Lotter advertised all six volumes of Kellner's collection of preludes, fugues and dance movements called *Certamen musicum* and also all four volumes of *Manipulus musices*, another publication of keyboard pieces by Kellner.

Some volumes of keyboard music printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig were also sold in Salzburg. In 1773 J. J. Lotter advertised Gottlieb Friedrich Müller's *Six sonates pour le clavecin*, in 1782 the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* stocked Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Sechs Claviersonaten* and Eberhard Klett lists Johann David Scheidler's *Sammlung kleiner Klavierstücke*, Nathanael Gottfried Gruner's *Sechs Sonaten für das Klavier* and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf's *Sechs Sonaten für das Clavier* in his catalogues. The advertisement for the volume of Gruner's sonatas shows how extra-musical aspects

³⁶⁷ 'Ich bin [...] unschuldig an der Herausgabe der im **Lotterschen Catalogus aller musicalischen Bücher** von diesem Jahre auf der achten Seite unter meinem Vor- und Zunahmen und folgendem mercklichen Titel befindlichen *VI Sonates nouveaux per Cembalo*, 1751.' Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, i (Berlin, Henning, 1753), 62.

³⁶⁸ Lotter's sales catalogues were also distributed as far East as Bratislava and Budapest via Leopold Mozart: see *Briefe*, i, 266; not in *Letters*.

might have furthered the sales of a musical publication: the work was offered for subscription during 1781, just after the complete inner city of Gera burnt down in a tragic fire that was widely reported on in Germany. In the preface to the collection of sonatas Gruner refers to his 'shattered constitution' because of this event. The resulting subscription over 1368 copies³⁶⁹ and also Klett's advertisement in his catalogue, which expressly mentions that the print features 'an engraving of the burnt down city of Gera' on the title page, prove Gruner's success in his move to sell a story as much as the music.

Georg Benda's *Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke* was a similarly successful publication of keyboard music and at least volume 3 of the series was advertised by Klett in 1783. The volume contained not only sonatas and sonatinas for keyboard alone, but also some songs and a sonata for keyboard accompanied by a string quartett.

While the publications mentioned above mostly contain sonatas, sonatinas or fashionable piano pieces, volumes with older keyboard works or slightly antiquarian genres such as suites, capriccios or preludes and fugues were also available in Salzburg. Lotter stocked two volumes of keyboard compositions by Georg Friedrich Händel published by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel in Amsterdam: in 1748 Lotter listed Händel's *Prelude et chacoone avec LXII variations* (HWV442) and in 1753 and 1754 Händel's *Capriccio pour le clavecin* (HWV481).³⁷⁰ Lotter possibly had some direct business tradings with Witvogel in Amsterdam, because he also distributed an edition of a fugue and a collection of keyboard pieces by Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch printed by Witvogel, along with some chamber music from the Amsterdam publisher (more below).

Keyboard music by Johann Gottfried Walther and Johann Mattheson were offered for sale in Salzburg, too. Walther's *Preludio con fuga* in G-major and his concerto for solo keyboard *Monumentum musicum concertam repraesentans* were both published by Johann Christian Leopold in Augsburg in 1741. Mattheson published two volumes of fugues with two or three subjects in Hamburg between 1735 and 1737. Haffner issued a second edition of these works in 1749 and J. J. Lotter

³⁶⁹ See Christopher Hogwood, ed., *"Kenner und Liebhaber" Collections I', Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach : Complete Works*, I/4,1 (Los Altos, 2009), page xiv.

³⁷⁰ Lotter's catalogue from 1748 seems to be the earliest known source for any reception of Händel's music in Augsburg. According to Josef Mancal an advertisement in the *Augsburger Intelligenz-Zettel* from February 1751 was hitherto thought to be the earliest mention of Händel in Augsburg. See Josef Mancal, 'Zu Musik und Aspekten des Musikmarkts des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel des Augsburger Intelligenz-Zettels', *Pressewesen der Aufklärung*, ed. Sabine Doering-Manteuffel (s.l., 2002), 404–5.

advertised both editions in his sales catalogues. In addition, Lotter also stocked a *Sonate pour le clavecin* by Mattheson.

Haffner published several anthologies of keyboard music and the first and also the most successful series by the number of volumes was a collection titled *Oeuvres mêlées*. Haffner issued the first volume in 1755 and the series grew to twelve volumes by 1766. Each book contained six sonatas by composers from the German-speaking lands. Many of the North German composers named above featured in the anthology: eight sonatas by C. P. E. Bach and one by Johann Ernst Bach from Weimar appeared in the *Oeuvres mêlées*, two sonatas by Scheibe and one sonata each by Hertel, Tischer and Benda. The *Oeuvres mêlées* included works by composers living in South Germany and Austria, too, including quite a few Salzburg composers: two sonatas each by Eberlin and Adlgasser and three sonatas by Leopold Mozart.³⁷¹

We are well informed on the business terms, on which Haffner acquired the sonatas for the *Oeuvres mêlées*, because of a notice added at the end of his sales catalogue from 1760. Herein Haffner calls on composers to send in compositions for inclusion in the *Oeuvres mêlées* or in the *Raccolta musicale*, which is another anthology of keyboard music devoted to Italian composers. Haffner promises to give the author six free copies of the volume as remuneration, in which the composition is included. Thus, beyond the distribution of this anthology by Lotter and Haffner, six copies of volumes 4, 8 and 9 and even twelve copies of volumes 5 and 6 were definitely in circulation in Salzburg, because they included compositions by Adlgasser, Eberlin or Leopold Mozart.³⁷²

Possibly the same business model also applied to the two remaining keyboard anthologies that Haffner issued and which were available on the Salzburg market. According to its title, the *Opere scielte*, published around 1756, contained keyboard pieces by German and Italian composers: next to five anonymous sonatas and one anonymous suite, there is a prelude and fugue on B-A-C-H titled '*Sonata*' in the volume, which possibly is by C. P. E. Bach (Wq deest; H371.9), but the work is also ascribed to Johann Christian Bach in other sources (Warb YA 50). Furthermore, this publication includes the earliest known version of the widely disseminated

³⁷¹ For a complete list of composers involved in the *Oeuvres mêlées*, see Appendix M.

³⁷² None of these copies could be traced any more. The music archive of the *Franziskanerkloster Salzburg* holds a volume, in which volumes VI and VII of the *Oeuvres mêlées* are bound together with the third issue of Haffner's *Raccolta musicale* [A-Sfr, no shelfmark]. Yet, the volume stems from the Cistercian monastery Wilhering in upper Austria.

anonymous *Arietta con XI Variazioni*, which also features in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Musikalisches Allerley* (Wq118/2) and as number 39 in the so-called *Nannerl Notenbuch*, which Leopold Mozart assembled for his daughter.³⁷³

Haffner's keyboard anthology *Collection recreative* presented sonatas from composers attached to the Berlin musical circles. Published around 1760–1, the two volumes of this anthology contained six sonatas each. Both volumes open with a sonata by C. P. E. Bach, the first with the sonata in b-minor (Wq62/22) and the second with the sonata in C-major (Wq62/7), and a sonata by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch is included in each set. In addition, volume 1 contains one sonata each by Jacob le Fèvre, Marpurg, Friedrich Christian Rackemann and Wilhelm August Traugott Roth. Volume 2 includes further works by Joachim Busse, Johann Gottlieb Janitsch, Kirnberger and Christian Gottfried Krause.

The *Canzonette fürs Klavier mit Veränderungen von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern* published by Carl Wilhelm Ettinger in Gotha in 1781 presents a special kind of anthology: edited by Georg Benda, the theme and the opening four variations are composed by an unnamed 'Liebhaberin der Musik' and the following variations by several composers active in Gotha, including Benda himself and Anton Schweitzer. In general, the variations are for solo keyboard, apart from two, where a third voice is added, in one instance for the flute, in the other for a third hand on the same keyboard. The Salzburg bookshop Mayr advertises this set of variations in the year of its publication.

The catalogues of the book traders active in Salzburg also included some accompanied keyboard sonatas, all scored for keyboard and violin or flute. Joseph Wolff stocked Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach's six sonatas for keyboard and flute or violin published by Johann Friedrich Hartknoch in Riga and J. J. Lotter distributed Johann Ludwig Krebs's *Musicalischer und angenehmer Zeitvertreib*. Haffner published a set of *Sei duetti* by Christoph Schaffrath in 1746 and an edition of Johann Adolph Scheibe's three sonatas around 1760.

To increase their marketability, all piano concertos issued in print could be played as 'chamber music' with a proficient keyboard player and string quartet. The sets of parts for one or even two concertos by C. P. E. Bach could be bought in Salzburg from mid-eighteenth century onwards: J. J. Lotter advertises a '*Concerto per il Cembalo, 2 Violini, Violetta, & Basso, fol.*' in all of his surviving catalogues between 1748 and 1759. This description is unequivocal for the catalogues of 1748 and 1753,

³⁷³ For a more detailed discussion of this piece in the *Nannerl Notenbuch*, see Chapter 5.4.

as the concerto in D-major for keyboard and strings (Wq11) was the only one issued in print by that time. Balthasar Schmid published another concerto by C. P. E. Bach (Wq25) in 1754³⁷⁴ and Lotter's sales catalogues of 1754, 1757 and 1759 could also refer to this second concerto.

Two more concertos by the Bach family were available in Salzburg: Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach's concertos in E^b- and in A-major were issued in set of parts by the Riga publisher Hartknoch around 1776.³⁷⁵ Both works were advertised by T. E. Lotter and Wolff in the year of their publication. In 1777, Hartknoch published two concertos by the Weimar court *Kapellmeister* Ernst Wilhelm Wolf and Joseph Wolff distributed them in South Germany in the same year. Haffner published two collections of three concertos each by Johan Joachim Agrell. The first set from 1751 is scored for solo keyboard and strings, the second from 1753 adds another soloist part, which can be played on the flute or the violin.

5.2.3 Songs, operas and other vocal music

Over 30 different titles of songs for voice and keyboard accompaniment, many of the publications consisting of several volumes, were available in Salzburg between 1750 and 1785. The Salzburg public did not lag behind in their quest for modern songs and the earliest volumes of German *Lieder*, published in the North, were sold in town. During the 1750s, Lotter stocked Johann Friedrich Gräfe's *Samlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden* in four volumes, a volume of odes and Anacreontic poetry published by Gräfe in 1744, Johann Valentin Görner's *Sammlung neuer Oden* in two volumes, Georg Philipp Telemann's 24 serious and humorous odes set to 'simple melodies apt for nearly all throats', Johann Friedrich Doles's *Neue Lieder nebst ihren Melodien*, Marpurg's *Neue Lieder zum Singen beym Clavier*, Mizler's *Sammlungen auserlesener moralischer Oden* in three volumes and two volumes of the collection *Sperontes singende Muse an der Pleisse*, which promised to deliver 100 of the 'newest and best musical pieces'. Later in the century, songs by

³⁷⁴ Wotquenne dates this print to 1752, but the date is corrected to 1754 by Horst Heussner. See Horst Heussner, 'Der Musikdrucker Balthasar Schmid in Nürnberg', *Die Musikforschung*, xvi/4 (1963), 358.

³⁷⁵ Both of these concertos have also frequently been assigned to Johann Christian Bach, but Ulrich Leisinger verified that they are compositions by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach. See Ulrich Leisinger, 'Beziehungen des Rigaer Verlegers Johann Christoph Hartknoch zur Musikerfamilie Bach – Eine Dokumentation', *Die Verbreitung der Werke Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in Ostmitteleuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder, 2002), 493.

Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Johann Adam Hiller and Christian Gottlob Neefe were sold in Salzburg soon after their publication.

Singing songs was part of the modern education of children and thus several volumes advertised in Salzburg were specifically written for young singers. Available were, for example, a collection of 'little songs for little girls' by Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann, Georg Carl Claudius's *Lieder für Kinder* and Gottlob Gottwald Hunger's volume with the same title, an anonymous collection titled *Lieder eines Mädchens beym Singen und Claviere* published in Münster in 1775, twelve anonymous sonatas for children with songs on melodies by Graun published in 1782, and Johann Friedrich Reichardt's two volumes of *Lieder für Kinder*.

Obviously, South German publishers were keen to participate in this trend and swiftly issued their own song collections. Haffner published Johann Ernst Bach's *Sammlung auserlesener Fabeln* in 1749, Mattheson's *Odeon morale* in 1751 and two volumes of *Oden und Lieder* by Gottfried Eusebius Nauert in 1758. Even small publishers, who otherwise did not print any musical works, issued some collections of songs for voice and keyboard. Jakob Christoph Posch in Ansbach, for example, published three volumes of *Lieder* and the first one, an anonymous collection of 25 songs printed in 1756, was distributed by Lotter.

Some operatic music was also available in Salzburg. Mayr advertised Anton Schweitzer's *Alceste* with a libretto by Wieland as the first item of printed music in his new monthly catalogue in March 1781. Inferring from the lofty price of 9 florins, this was the particularly lavish and voluminous edition of the work published by Schwickert in Leipzig in 1774. In this edition, the music is printed in a combination of short score and full score and all voice parts are written out in full.

Schweitzer's work appeared in Mayr's catalogue alongside another very popular German singspiel, Georg Benda's *Der Holzhauer oder die drey Wünsche*, which was edited in the same format of a mixture between keyboard reduction and score. Exceptionally, Schwickert published a full score of Benda's melodrama *Ariadne auf Naxos* around 1781, which was also sold by the Mayr bookshop. In 1776 Tobias Elias Lotter advertised Benda's comic opera *Der Dorffahrmarkt* in the keyboard reduction made by Johann Adam Hiller and published by Johann Gottfried Dyck in that very year.

The book trader Klett distributed a collection of Italian arias by Benda in 1783, which was printed in full score for two flutes, two French horns and string quartet by Schwickert the year before. In order to make the edition commercially more viable, a keyboard reduction of the music is printed above the bass line. This

keyboard part doubles the voice in the solo sections, thus turning the arias into simple keyboard songs or even keyboard pieces, if performed alone at the keyboard.

An edition of Christian Benjamin Uber's singspiel *Clarisse oder das unbekannte Dienstmädchen* appeared in Schwarzkopf's sales catalogue in 1772. This keyboard reduction was published by Johann Ernst Meyer in Wroclaw in 1772 and it proves yet again the speedy distribution of printed sheet music throughout the German speaking countries. In the case of Ernst Wilhelm Wolf's singspiel *Die treuen Köhler*, Schwarzkopf advertised the keyboard reduction of this work in 1773, which is even before it appeared with the publisher Karl Ludolf Hoffmann in Weimar 1774.

Among the large-scale vocal works sold in Salzburg was also an edition of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* published by Dyck in 1776. Johann Adam Hiller edited the work by adding oboes and flutes and he supplanted the Latin text with a German parody authored by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock.

In the 1750s Lotter advertised Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch's *Due Cantate a voce solo* together with the keyboard works by the same composer. Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach's *Die Amerikanerin*, which is labelled as 'a lyrical painting by Herr von Gerstenberg set to music', was listed in Tobias Elias Lotter's as well as Joseph Wolff's sales catalogues. Published by Hartknoch in Riga in 1776, it was available on the Salzburg market within the same year.

5.2.4 Instrumental chamber music

The instrumental chamber music available for sale in Salzburg consisted mainly of music for flute or violin and bass. Sonatas for violin and continuo by Johan Joachim Agrell and by Johann Philipp Eisel, two sonatas for flute and continuo by Johann Philipp Kirnberger and two sets of six sonatas for the same scoring by Johann Joachim Quantz were available in Salzburg. Johann Mattheson's *Der brauchbare Virtuoso* was intended for violin or flute and continuo and Lotter stocked the print throughout the 1750s.

Regarding trio sonatas, most works left the exact instrumentation open and were advertised as being suitable for violins or flutes or a combination of both instruments and continuo. The Salzburg public could acquire Carl Friedrich Abel's *Sei sonate a tre* printed by Breitkopf in 1762, six chamber sonatas by Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer from Brunswick and six trios by Johann Ludwig Krebs. Three trio sonatas by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach were available in Salzburg. Two of these were printed by Balthasar Schmid in 1751: the first, in c-minor, is the trio commonly known as *Sanguineus et Melancholicus* (Wq161/1), the second is in B^b-major

(Wq161/2). The third available trio sonata by Bach, *Sonata à due violini e basso* (Wq158), was published by Georg Ludwig Winter in 1763. Furthermore, the *Sonata per flauto traverse solo senza basso* by C. P. E. Bach (Wq132) was sold by T. E. Lotter.

Some compositions for lute were still sold in Salzburg, reflecting the past times, when the lute was the most popular musical instrument for domestic music making. Throughout the 1750s, Lotter advertised David Kellner's sixteen 'choice lute pieces' and Haffner published six sonatas for lute 'in the modern style' in 1746.³⁷⁶ Johann Gottfried Mente's *Suite für die Gambe und General-Bass* represents another volume of chamber music for an instrument that went out of fashion with the amateur musicians. Published by Breitkopf in 1759, the work is listed in J. J. Lotter's sales catalogue of 1773.

5.2.5 Orchestral music

Most of the orchestral music that appeared in print during the eighteenth century could also be performed as domestic chamber music. Often the works were scored for strings only, as Johan Joachim Agrell's *Sei sinfonie a quattro* published by Haffner in 1746. In 1747 Haffner issued six symphonies by Christoph Förster for which a string quartet would be sufficient for performance, but one could enlarge the ensemble into a full orchestra by adding two flutes, two oboes, two French horns and a harpsichord.

Exceptionally, a full set of wind instruments was essential for the *Sinfonia* composed by King Frederic II, which Balthasar Schmid published around 1743. In this case the prestige of the royal author probably made up for the lack in practicability regarding a domestic performance of the work and J. J. Lotter advertised the work throughout the 1750s.

The *Neue Sammlung englischer Tänze* by Elias Christian Fricke was an anthology of new dance compositions for flutes, French horns, oboes, trumpets and drums. The subtitle 'for the year 1776' implies an annual series of new dances, but no previous issue or later continuation is documented. Some rather old-fashioned orchestral music was being sold in Salzburg, too: J. J. Lotter advertised twelve concertos by Johann Christian Schieferdecker. The work was printed in Hamburg in 1715 and consisted of ouvertures, suites and sonatas.

³⁷⁶ Ulrich Haffner himself was a lutenist and consistently signed his editions with '*Johann Ulrich Haffner, Lautenist zu Nürnberg*'.

5.2.6 Protestant church music

Lotter's sales catalogue of 1753 featured an exceptional supplement at the end, in which he advertised 'some musical books for use in the protestant church'.³⁷⁷ As outlined above, Lotter stemmed from a Protestant family, but the market, in which his business operated, was thoroughly Catholic. The church music, which he issued as publisher in large quantities, was exclusively for use in Catholic churches. In this supplement, Lotter advertised Cornelius Heinrich Dretzel's *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*, published in 1731 in Nuremberg, which was the official hymnal of the Lutheran church in the duchy of Bayreuth and in the free city of Nuremberg. Then he traded with several volumes of music for the private, domestic edification published in Zurich.³⁷⁸

Three volumes by authors from Northern Germany were listed in this section, too. Firstly, Lotter distributed Georg Philipp Telemann's oratorio *Music vom Leiden und Sterben des Welt-Erlösers* in an edition printed by Balthasar Schmid around 1745. This edition was in the popular format of a keyboard reduction with some instrumental lines given separately. The title of Schmid's publication particularly stresses the fact that 'one single person can also use this [score] at the keyboard'. Secondly, two volumes of chorale settings by Daniel Vetter were sold by Lotter: the *Musicalische Kirch- und Hauß-Ergötzlichkeit* consisted of over 220 chorales intended for use at church and for domestic devotion. Finally, Lotter also stocked Georg Christian Schemelli's *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch*, in the production of which Johann Sebastian Bach was involved. The volume was published by Breitkopf in Leipzig in 1736.

³⁷⁷ Johann Jakob Lotter, *Catalogus aller Musicalischen Bücher* (Augsburg, Lotter, 1753), 43–4.

³⁷⁸ Johann Jacob Ott, ed., *L. Auserlesene, meistens neue geistliche Lieder, zu 1. 2. 3. und 4. Stimmen samt einer Cantate, und untermischten kleinen Soli* (Zurich, s.n., 1739); Johann Ludwig Steiner, *Bassus generalis Davidica, das ist: General-Baß, uber die Psalmen Davids* (Zurich, Heidegger, 1734); Johann Ludwig Steiner, *Gott-geheiligte Fest- und Zeit-Gedancken* (Zurich, Heidegger, 1739).

5.3 The Mozarts and North German music

In contrast to the wide general availability, only very few works by north German composers can be securely traced back to the Mozarts' Salzburg music library. According to Cliff Eisen's reconstruction of their music library, the Mozarts owned keyboard works by Johan Joachim Agrell, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Georg Benda, Georg Friedrich Händel and Johann Nikolaus Tischler.³⁷⁹ Although I was able to identify some more works, the resulting list of titles owned by the Mozarts remains fairly sketchy. This section will deal with the North German music within their library except for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's works, for which I will give a more detailed account below.³⁸⁰

The Mozarts verifiably owned two collections of piano sonatas by Georg Benda, whom Wolfgang Mozart described as 'always my favourite among the Lutheran composers':³⁸¹ firstly, a certain 'Monsieur Kuhlmann' presented them with a copy of Benda's *Sei sonate per il cembalo solo* as 'souvenir', when they departed Amsterdam in 1766 on their travels through Holland,³⁸² and secondly, Leopold and Wolfgang both appeared on the subscribers' list for Benda's *Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke für geübte und ungeübte Spieler*.³⁸³ A letter from Leopold to Breitkopf probably documents the arrival of the two copies in Salzburg in autumn 1780, when Leopold states that 'the two copies of Benda arrived in my hands'.³⁸⁴

The Mozarts also owned the music for Benda's two melodramas *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Medea*. Writing from Mannheim in 1778, Wolfgang tells his father about the two melodramas, which he saw at the theatre, and adds that 'I love these two works so much that I carry them about with me'.³⁸⁵ It remains open whether Wolfgang referred to keyboard reductions, which were published by Schwickert in 1778, or just to two textbooks of the works.³⁸⁶ By 1786, Leopold certainly owned a music print of *Ariadne auf Naxos*, either the full score published by Schwickert around 1781 and advertised by the bookshop Mayr in 1784 or the piano reduction. This is documented in letters exchanged between Leopold and Nannerl: on

³⁷⁹ Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library'.

³⁸⁰ For a full list of music from North Germany in the Mozarts' Salzburg library, see Appendix N.

³⁸¹ *Briefe*, ii, 506; *Letters*, 631.

³⁸² *Dokumente*, 52; *Documentary Biography*, 54.

³⁸³ *Dokumente*, 521; not in *Documentary Biography*.

³⁸⁴ *Briefe*, viii, 50; not in *Letters*. Although published by Carl Wilhelm Ettinger in Gotha, Benda's sonatas were distributed by Breitkopf.

³⁸⁵ *Briefe*, ii, 506; *Letters*, 631.

³⁸⁶ No full scores of the works were published by 1778.

Leopold's request³⁸⁷ Nannerl posted Benda's *Ariadne* to Salzburg,³⁸⁸ where Heinrich Marchand, Leopold's resident violin student, needed it presumably in preparation for a performance of the work at the local theatre on 26 November 1786. In the same season, Benda's *Medea* was also performed in Salzburg and this time Heinrich Marchand even directed the performance as concert master.³⁸⁹ So at least for this occasion, Leopold certainly had a score of the work at his house, but it is not a far stretch to suggest that he owned the keyboard reduction of *Medea* anyway. The collection of the *Salzburg Museum* holds a copy of the keyboard score of Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos* published in Leipzig in 1778.³⁹⁰ Cliff Eisen proposes that this keyboard score might stem from the Mozarts' Salzburg library, just like a copy of Benda's *Sammlung vermischter Clavier- und Gesangsstücke*,³⁹¹ a sequel to Benda's collection of keyboard music from 1780 mentioned above which names the Mozarts on its subscription list.³⁹²

A letter written by Wolfgang from Vienna documents that there was a set of six fugues by Georg Friedrich Händel within the family's music collection.³⁹³ Whether this is the collection *6 Fugues or Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord* published by Walsh in London in 1735 or a manuscript collection of fugues remains open, although they might well have bought the London print during their stay in the city. The Mozarts also owned some fugues by Johann Sebastian Bach, for which Wolfgang asked his father in December 1783.³⁹⁴ It is often assumed that these works are the same fugues that Wolfgang transcribed for string quartet (K405),³⁹⁵ but there is no documentary evidence for this and the fugues could equally be other fugues by Bach.

Two pieces included in the *Nannerl Notenbuch* confirm the Mozarts' familiarity with North German keyboard music in the 1750s and in both cases Leopold could have known the pieces from Haffner's editions. Number 45 in the *Nannerl Notenbuch* is an *Allegro* in e-minor by Johan Joachim Agrell, which originally was the third movement of the fourth sonata from Agrell's *Sei sonate per il cembalo solo*. This collection was published by Haffner in 1748. Similarly, a movement from Johann

³⁸⁷ See *Briefe*, iii, 606; not in *Letters*.

³⁸⁸ See *Briefe*, iii, 612; not in *Letters*.

³⁸⁹ See *Briefe*, iv, 8; not in *Letters*.

³⁹⁰ [A-Sca, 42719].

³⁹¹ [A-Sca, 43647].

³⁹² See Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', 122.

³⁹³ See *Briefe*, iii, 201; *Letters*, 800.

³⁹⁴ See *Briefe*, iii, 295; *Letters*, 862.

³⁹⁵ See e.g. commentary to the letter in *Briefe*, vi, 160. This would be Bach's fugues for keyboard BWV871, 874, 876, 877 & 878.

Nikolaus Tischer is included in the *Nannerl Notenbuch* as number 43. The movement marked *Presto* is originally titled *Fanfare* and stems from the first keyboard suite of Tischer's *Divertissement musical*, published in 1751. In both cases, it is not securely documented that the Mozarts owned Haffner's prints, but considering the close business ties between Leopold and Haffner this seems likely.

Three volumes of Haffner's publishing output that Leopold owned in multiple copies were the volumes 5, 6 and 9 of the *Oeuvres mêlées*. Each of the volumes contained a keyboard sonata by Leopold and, as mentioned above, Haffner remunerated the composers with six free copies of the volume, in which their sonata was included. Apart from Leopold's sonata, volume 5 contains one sonata each by Leopold's Salzburg colleague Adlgasser, by Johann Gottfried Seyffert and by Johann Zach; in addition, the volume features C. P. E. Bach's sonata in B^b-major (Wq62/16) and a sonata attributed to Johann Ernst Bach in the print, but which was also composed by C. P. E. Bach (Wq deest; H368). Volume 6 of the *Oeuvres mêlées* includes works by J. E. Bach, Georg Benda, Eberlin, Johann Georg Lang and Johann Gottfried Palschau from Copenhagen. And Volume 9 comprises of C. P. E. Bach's Sonata in A-major (Wq65/32) and sonatas by Franz Vollrath Buttstedt, Johann Balthasar Kehl, Franz Anton Stadler and Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Wenkel.³⁹⁶

The family correspondence of the Mozarts actually bears witness to one occasion when six copies of a volume of *Oeuvres mêlées* reached the Mozarts' home in Salzburg. While they were on their European tour in 1763, their landlord Lorenz Hagenauer informed them of a packet with music that arrived from Haffner in Nuremberg. To this Leopold replies:

In the packet of music, which Madame Haffner from Nuremberg sent, there are 6 copies of oeuvres mêlées. Open it, and give one of them to Hr. Adlgasser with my compliments.³⁹⁷

In all likelihood, these were six copies of volume 9 of the *Oeuvres mêlées* and they represented the remuneration for Leopold Mozart's sonata included in the volume, which appeared in 1763.³⁹⁸ The fact that Leopold gave one copy to Adlgasser opens the speculation of a reciprocal deal: Adlgasser had a sonata published in volume 8

³⁹⁶ See Appendix M.

³⁹⁷ 'In dem band der von der madame Haffnerin v Nurnberg übermachten Musikal: sind 6 Stück: oeuvres mêlées. öffnen sie es, und geben sie eines davon dem H: Adlgasser nebst meinem Compliment'. *Briefe*, i, 80; *Letters*, 26.

³⁹⁸ Certain dates can only be established by the plate numbers for the volumes I, II, III, VII, X and XI of the *Oeuvres mêlées* (I 1755, II 1756, III 1757, VII 1761, X 1764, XI 1765) [dates according to Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner']. The verified dates suggest the publication of one issue per year.

of the *Oeuvres mêlées* and might have given the Mozarts a copy the year before. Just how much the Mozarts continued to value the *Oeuvres mêlées* is documented in a letter from December 1785: Nannerl, now married and living in St. Gilgen, apparently requested the collection from Leopold in a missing letter and he promised to send her 'the *Oeuvres mêlées*' – yet there is no mention of the number of volumes that they owned.³⁹⁹

5.4 The Mozarts and music by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach

As outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, it is often suggested that Wolfgang did not know much of C. P. E. Bach's music before his move to Vienna. Yet, the general availability of Bach's music in Salzburg and the family's proven interest in Bach's music implies a different scenario. Cliff Eisen tentatively challenged the traditional assumption in his article on the Salzburg music library.⁴⁰⁰ In the following, a fresh scrutiny of the available documents in conjunction with the material on the Salzburg music trade presented above provides new insights into the Mozarts' acquaintance with C. P. E. Bach's music.

Leopold's interest in Bach's music and his awareness of the success of Bach's keyboard works is apparent in a letter to Breitkopf from 1775: Leopold tried to persuade Breitkopf, not for the first time,⁴⁰¹ to print some music by Wolfgang and suggested that Wolfgang could compose some sonatas 'like those by Herr Philipp Carl Emanuel Bach *with varied reprises*', adding that 'this kind of sonatas is very popular'.⁴⁰² In the same letter, Leopold also requested Breitkopf to send him a 'small note of all works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, which are to be had at your shop [...], n.b. with an indication of the prices'.⁴⁰³ Possibly, Leopold enquired on behalf of a potential customer, but it is equally likely that he wanted to have this list out of personal interest.

In the following, I will first detail the works by C. P. E. Bach that the Mozarts verifiably owned. Thereby I will present a hitherto unidentified manuscript with fugues by C. P. E. Bach, which probably stems from Wolfgang's Viennese estate. Then I will give a summary of the works by Bach distributed and published by J. J. Lotter and U. Haffner: the Mozarts might well have owned or at least known these

³⁹⁹ See *Briefe*, iii, 465; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁰⁰ See Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', 124–6.

⁴⁰¹ Another attempt is documented in 1772. See *Briefe*, i, 456; *Letters*, 209.

⁴⁰² *Briefe*, i, 527; *Letters*, 265.

⁴⁰³ *Briefe*, i, 527–8; *Letters*, 265.

works, as Lotter and Haffner were close business partners of Leopold. Finally, a description of Leopold's dealings with the Breitkopf company opens up the possibility of an even greater amount of Bach's work at least being known to them.

Five fugues and fifteen keyboard sonatas by C. P. E. Bach can be securely documented as part of the Mozarts' Salzburg music library, in addition to the collection of *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen*, the keyboard piece *La Boehmer* and Bach's aleatoric instruction to construct a double counterpoint in the octave (see Table 5.1).⁴⁰⁴

Table 5.1: Music by C. P. E. Bach owned by the Mozarts

Work (place, publisher, year / manuscript copy)	Source / remarks
Five fugues for keyboard (manuscript copy) [Wq119/2-4, 6-7; H75.5, 99-102]	Cited in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 299; <i>Letters</i> , 865. W. A. Mozart's copy at A-Sm, MN 138,5
<i>Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1760) [Wq50; H126, 136-40]	Cited in <i>Briefe</i> , i, 527-8; <i>Letters</i> , 265. Also in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 205; not in <i>Letters</i> .
<i>Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1761) [Wq51; H62, 127-8, 141, 150-1]	Cited in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 205; not in <i>Letters</i> .
Sonata for keyboard in B ^b -major [Wq62/16; H116]	Included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , v (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1759)
Sonata for keyboard in F-major [Wq deest; H368]	Included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , v (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1759)
Sonata for keyboard in A-major [Wq65/32; H133]	Included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , ix (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1763)
<i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefügtter Fingersetzung für Anfänger</i> (either: Berlin, Winter, 1766 / or: Augsburg, Lotter, 1768) [Wq113; H193-203]	According to Georg Nikolaus Nissen ⁴⁰⁵
' <i>La Boehmer</i> ' [Wq117/26; H81] [possibly copied from <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1762-3)]	Arranged by W. A. Mozart as last movement of concerto K40
' <i>Einfall einen doppelten Contrapunkt in der Octave zu machen</i> ', <i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> , ed. Wilhelm Friedrich Marpurg, iii (Berlin, Lange, 1757), 167-81 [Wq257; H869]	The Mozarts owned volume 3 of Marpurg's periodical ⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Eisen only lists six sonatas and *La Boehmer*, plus the *Arietta* with variations, number 39 of the *Nannerl Notenbuch*, which probably has no direct link with Bach (see below).

⁴⁰⁵ See Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, ed. Rudolph Angermüller (Hildesheim, 2010), 13-4.

⁴⁰⁶ For more details, see Chapter 3.1.1.

Even though documented in the family correspondence, the Mozarts' ownership of the five fugues for keyboard by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Wq119/2–4, 6–7) has not received any detailed attention within Mozart scholarship until now.⁴⁰⁷ On 24 December 1783, a couple of weeks after Wolfgang's and Constanze's return from their visit to Salzburg, Wolfgang asked his father for a collection of fugues by C. P. E. Bach:

If you could have the fugues (I think, there are six of them) by Emanuel Bach copied and send them to me some time, you would be doing me a great favour, too. In Salzburg I forgot to ask you to do this.⁴⁰⁸

Wolfgang requested these fugues in addition to some other music, namely two violin duets, the fugues by Johann Sebastian Bach mentioned above and the score of his opera *Idomeneo*.⁴⁰⁹ Wolfgang's letter proves that there were fugues by C. P. E. Bach within their Salzburg library, but it does not specify any details of the works.

It is a manuscript now held at the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum* that probably makes the identification of the fugues possible. The fifth item within a convolute with the shelfmark *A-Sm, MN 138* is a manuscript copy of five fugues and an introductory fantasia by C. P. E. Bach (Wq119/2–4, 6–7). Christoph Wolff assumes that this manuscript was once part of Fanny Arnstein's (née Itzig) music collection, because the following item in the convolute, which is a set of manuscript parts for Bach's keyboard concerto in c-minor (Wq5), carries Arnstein's ownership signature.⁴¹⁰ Therefore, Wolff speculates that this might be one of the Bach sources, from which Wolfgang copied his 'collection of Bachian fugues – Sebastian as well as Emanuel and Friedemann Bach' in Vienna in 1782.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ Neither Christoph Wolff nor Silke Leopold in their articles on Wolfgang Mozart's engagement with music by the Bach family seem to have noticed this and these works are also missing from Cliff Eisen's list of music owned by the Mozarts in Salzburg. See Christoph Wolff, 'Mozart 1782, Fanny Arnstein und viermal Bach', *Mozart Jahrbuch* 2009/10, 141–8; Silke Leopold, 'Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub'n. Über Mozarts schöpferische Auseinandersetzung mit Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach', *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer, i (Tutzing, 1997), 755–69; and Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library'.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Wenn sie mir nach Gelegenheit die Fugen (ich glaub, es sind 6.) von Emanuel Bach abschreiben liessen, und schickten, würden sie mir auch eine grosse Gefälligkeit thun. – ich habe vergessen sie in Salzburg darum zu ersuchen.' *Briefe*, iii, 299; *Letters*, 865–6.

⁴⁰⁹ Wolfgang first asks his father for this music on 6 December 1783 (see *Briefe*, iii, 295; *Letters*, 862) and repeats the request in the letter cited above just before adding C. P. E. Bach's fugues to the wish-list.

⁴¹⁰ Wolff, 'Mozart 1782, Fanny Arnstein und viermal Bach', 146. The source is also described in Christine Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich* (Hildesheim, 2011), 140.

⁴¹¹ *Briefe*, iii, 201; *Letters*, 800.

I would like to argue that the manuscript *A-Sm, MN 138,5* might indeed represent Wolfgang's Viennese copy of the five fugues by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, which the family also had within their Salzburg library. All other items of sheet music containing works by the Bach family, which survive from the collection of Fanny Arnstein, carry her personal signature or an ownership stamp and all but one of them can be securely traced to a Berlin or North German provenance.⁴¹² The manuscript *A-Sm, MN 138,5* is not signed or stamped nor does it have a north German provenance. The source is written on paper from the paper mill *Altmühle* in Steyr, which Johann Kienmoser owned from 1750 until around 1783.⁴¹³

While these facts merely make a provenance from Arnstein's music collection less likely, my hypothesis that the manuscript stems from Wolfgang Mozart's household in Vienna is based on the letter cited above, on the fact that Wolfgang used identical paper by Kienmoser just around the same time as he requested the fugues from his father and on its provenance from the estate of Wolfgang's youngest son Franz Xaver Mozart.

According to Alan Tyson, Wolfgang bought two types of paper from the Steyr paper mill on his return journey from Salzburg in November 1783.⁴¹⁴ One paper type was a large 24-stave upright or a relatively small 12-stave oblong paper, depending whether the paper was folded and cut one more time or not. On this paper Wolfgang wrote the keyboard sonata in B^b-major (K333), a short score of the fugue *Pignus futurae gloriae* (K Anh A12) from Johann Michael Haydn's *Litaniae de venerabili sacramento* (MH228) and sketches for several numbers of his planned opera *L'oca del Cairo* (K422), for the missing *Dona nobis pacem* of the c-minor mass (K427) and for the first movement of his piano quintet (K452).

⁴¹² Manuscripts with music by the Bach family from the collection of Fanny Arnstein that survive in Austria are: two keyboard concertos by C. P. E. Bach (Wq19 [A-Wgm, VII 18933] & Wq50 [A-Sm, MN 138,6]), a collection of 17 keyboard sonatas and sonatinas [A-Wgm, VII 3872] and two further sonatas by C. P. E. Bach (Wq62/20 [A-Wgm, VII 18937] & Wq62/23 [private ownership, Leipzig]), J. S. Bach's *Partita* (BWV825) [A-Wgm, VII 18938 (Q11730)], and J. S. Bach's six organ trio sonatas transcribed for two harpsichords (BWV525–30) [A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5008]. See Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich*, 141, 238, 255–6, 364–5 & 930.

⁴¹³ See Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1960), 64.

⁴¹⁴ In Alan Tyson's catalogue of watermarks on papers used by W. A. Mozart they are described as numbers 68 and 69. See Alan Tyson, 'Wasserzeichen-Katalog', *Dokumentation der autographen Überlieferung*, NMA X/33:2 (Kassel, 1992), page XXIV; and also Alan Tyson, *Mozart : Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 73–81.

The other paper type that Wolfgang bought in Linz was a 10-stave oblong paper with a key and the letters IK in the watermark.⁴¹⁵ On this paper Wolfgang wrote out the recitative number 4 and the quartet number 5 of *L'oca del Cairo*, a melody sketch for a bass aria (K deest) and a fragment of a fugue for string quartet in g-minor (K deest).⁴¹⁶ In addition, Wolfgang's manuscript copy of a fugue from a symphony by Michael Haydn (K Anh A52) is also written on this 10-stave oblong paper by Kienmoser.

The manuscript *A-Sm, MN 138,5* is written on this second type of paper, which Wolfgang bought in autumn 1783. The source consists of seven bifolios in oblong format, measuring 30.5 x 21.5 centimetres. Each page is mechanically ruled with ten staves, the width from the highest to the lowest stave line measures 9 millimetre. The watermark is a key and the letters IK.⁴¹⁷ The watermark, the measurements and the preruling of the staves are identical with the second paper type described above,⁴¹⁸ thus presumably we are dealing here with not just similar paper but identical paper from Johann Kienmoser.

The title page on folio 1 recto reads '*Sei Fughe / Di P: E: Bach*' (see Figure 20). The music is written on folios 1 verso to 13 verso, folio 14 is empty but with the staves ruled. The scribe of the source is catalogued in RISM as 'Copyist of Salzburg 566', but no further details are known about him.⁴¹⁹ The hand of the scribe is very neat with the note stemming being strikingly perpendicular to the ruled staves (see Figure 21 and Figure 22). The upper part is notated in soprano C-clef and the lower in bass F-clef: the C-clef in particular is very characteristic with the short vertical line on the left and the two-thirds to three-quarter circle appended to the right vertical line of the clef.

⁴¹⁵ See watermark number 68 in Tyson, 'Wasserzeichen-Katalog'.

⁴¹⁶ A facsimile of the melody sketch and the fugue fragment is reproduced as *Skb 1783e/recto* in Ulrich Konrad's edition of fragments in Mozart's hand for the NMA. See NMA X/30:4 'Fragmente' (Kassel, 2002), 49.

⁴¹⁷ The 'key' is described in RISM as 'ancor-like figure with double beam'. Tyson uses the word 'key'. In any case, the watermark is identical to watermark number 68 in Tyson, 'Wasserzeichen-Katalog', 34.

⁴¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Roland Schmidt-Hensel for checking the measurements on the relevant pages of the autograph of *L'oca del Cairo* (K422) [D-B, Mus.ms.autogr. Mozart, W. A. 422].

⁴¹⁹ According to personal communication with Dr. Eva Neumayr of the RISM Working Group Salzburg, no other sources by this scribe are known.



Figure 20: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Sei Fughe / Di P: E: Bach* [A-Sm, MN 138,5], title page.

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Although the title reads '*Sei Fughe / Di P: E: Bach*', the manuscript only contains five fugues and a fantasia stands as prelude before the fourth of these fugues (Wq119/7). Two scenarios could explain the discrepancy between title and content of the manuscript: either it is a simple mistake or the scribe planned to copy six fugues but left the last one out, because there was not enough space left on the last, now empty, folio. That the last fugue went missing during the transmission history of the manuscript seems highly unlikely, as the source consists of 7 bifolios folded into a booklet and missing pages at the end would also show at the front of the source.⁴²⁰

The manuscript came to the *Dom-Musik-Verein und Mozarteum* in Salzburg in 1845 as part of the estate of Franz Xaver Mozart. Among the music manuscripts within the estate of F. X. Mozart were several autographs and other items from the property of Wolfgang.⁴²¹ When the *Dom-Musik-Verein* and the *Mozarteum* were split in 1880, the manuscript A-Sm, MN 138,5 went into the collections of the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*.

⁴²⁰ This is contrary to Christine Blanken's statement 'the sixth fugue is missing' in Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich*, 140.

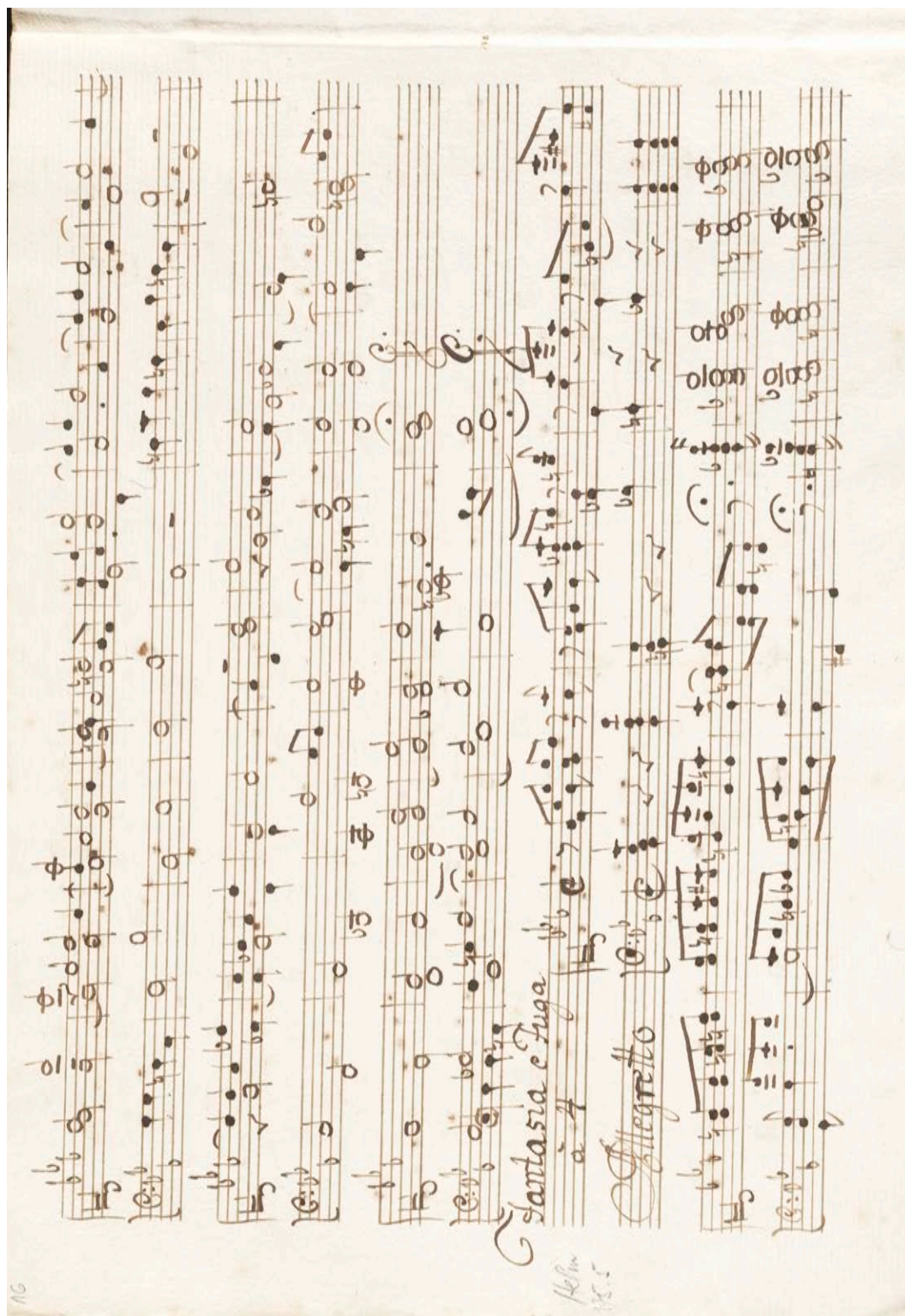
⁴²¹ For further information on the Mozart autographs that F. X. Mozart bequeathed to the *Dom-Musik-Verein*, see Walter Senn, 'Das Vermächtnis der Brüder Mozart an "Dommusikverein und Mozarteum" in Salzburg', *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1967, 52–61.

Figure 21: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Sei Fughe / Di P: E: Bach* [A-Sm, MN 138,5], page 10 (beginning of Wq119/6).

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The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a fugue. The page is numbered '10' in the top left corner. The first staff is labeled 'Fuga' and 'Moderato'. The notation is written in a cursive style, with various musical symbols including notes, rests, and bar lines. The page contains ten staves of music, with the first staff being the title and tempo indication, and the subsequent staves containing the musical notation for the fugue. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the paper appears aged.

Figure 22: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Sei Fughe / Di P: E: Bach* [A-Sm, MN 138,5], page 16 (end of Wq119/6, beginning of Wq119/7).
 © Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (ISM), Bibliotheca Mozartiana.



If my hypothesis is correct that the manuscript *A-Sm, MN 138,5* is in fact Wolfgang's Viennese copy of fugues, which were also part of the family library in Salzburg, then the following course of events can be established: at the end of October 1783 Wolfgang bought paper from the paper maker Kienmoser. He used this paper during his stay in Linz and during the first weeks back in Vienna for the compositions and manuscript copies described above. Several of these projects that Wolfgang wrote on paper by Kienmoser stood in connection with the musical gatherings of Gottfried van Swieten: the fugue from Haydn's *Pignus futurae gloriae* (K Anh A12) was in all probability a directing score for an actual or planned performance there⁴²² and the copy of the fugue from Haydn's symphony (K Anh A52) and the fragment of a string quartet fugue in g-minor could well be intended for a session at van Swieten's, too.

It is in this context that Wolfgang was also interested in 'the fugues [...] by Emanuel Bach', which he 'forgot' to ask his father about in Salzburg and which he requested in addition to the score of *Idomeneo* and fugues by J. S. Bach among other items in December 1783. Although Wolfgang does not mention the receipt of this packet of music in the surviving letters, we can assume that Leopold fulfilled his request promptly, because no further urging by Wolfgang is recorded either. Yet, instead of sending copies of the fugues by C. P. E. Bach, Leopold posted the original manuscript from their Salzburg library – possibly because he was pressed for time (after all, the *Idomeneo* score was a request with some urgency),⁴²³ or because he refused to bear the costs of the copying for his son. After receiving the packet of music, Wolfgang had the fugues copied out at his home on paper, which he brought back from Linz and which he was using at the time. Plausible as it might sound, we cannot be sure about this suggested course of events until the scribe of *A-Sm, MN 138,5* is identified as someone working for Wolfgang around that time.

From the family letters we can gather that the Mozarts owned Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (Wq50) by 1775.⁴²⁴ In 1782 Leopold orders another copy of this volume of sonatas with varied reprises and its continuation *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (Wq51) from

⁴²² As Dietrich Berke and Ulrich Leisinger suggest in their preface to the edition in the NMA. See NMA X/28:3, 'Übertragungen von Werken verschiedener Komponisten', pages XX–XXI.

⁴²³ See *Briefe*, iii, 299; *Letters*, 865.

⁴²⁴ *Briefe*, i, 527; *Letters*, 265. The letter is not unequivocal in this respect, but Leopold's suggestion that Wolfgang could compose sonatas similar to this set by Bach (see above) makes it more than likely that they owned the edition cited in the letter.

Breitkopf.⁴²⁵ A copy of the latter set is extant at the *Salzburg Museum* and might indeed be linked to the Mozarts.⁴²⁶ Three further sonatas by Bach (Wq62/16, 32 & H368) were definitively part of the Salzburg library of the Mozarts, as they were included in two volumes of the keyboard anthology *Oeuvres mêlées*, which also contained sonatas by Leopold and which he therefore owned.

Evidence for the Mozarts' ownership of Bach's *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefügtter Fingersetzung für Anfänger* comes from a 'list of items, which we hope to be allowed to ask for without immodesty', which Georg Nikolaus Nissen wrote to Maria Anna Berchtold zu Sonnenburg during the process of collecting material for his planned biography of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart.⁴²⁷ The number eight of this list reads:

This item is in another large packet of sheet music.

8 A booklet or book by Phil[ipp] Em[anuel] [Bach] on the fingering when playing the piano.⁴²⁸

While this description is not entirely unequivocal and could refer to Bach's *Versuch*, which has a chapter on fingering at the beginning of part one, the location among 'a large packet of sheet music' suggests the identification as Bach's *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke*. It remains an open question whether this was the original edition published by Winter in 1766 or Lotter's reprint from 1768. Possibly it is the existence of this volume by Bach dating from the 1760s within Nannerl's estate, which led to the statement in Niemetschek's and Nissen's biographies that young Wolfgang studied works by C. P. E. Bach after the family's return from their tour of Western Europe in 1766.⁴²⁹

The last movement of the pasticcio concerto K40, jointly written by Leopold and Wolfgang in Salzburg in July 1767, is based on Bach's keyboard piece *La Boehmer* (Wq117/26). The piece was published in 1762 as part the anthology *Musikalisches*

⁴²⁵ *Briefe*, iii, 205; not in *Letters*. The question why Leopold ordered another copy opens up the speculation whether Wolfgang took the original prints from their library to Vienna or requested the works from his father (after all, this was the time of his well-documented renewed interest in works by the Bach family).

⁴²⁶ *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier*, Wq51 (Berlin, Winter, 1761) [A-Sca, 42720]. See also Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', 122.

⁴²⁷ The list is reprinted without any further comment in Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, ed. Angermüller, 13–4. For more information on the circumstances of this request, see Anja Morgenstern, 'Neues zur Entstehungsgeschichte und Autorschaft der *Biographie W. A. Mozart's* von Georg Nikolaus Nissen (1828/29)', *Mozart Jahrbuch* 2012, 59–61.

⁴²⁸ 'Dieser Artikel ist in einem großen Pakken andrer Musikalien / 8 Ein Heft oder Buch von Phil[ipp] Em[anuel] [Bach] über das Fingersezen bei dem Klavierspielen.' Cited after Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, ed. Angermüller, 13.

⁴²⁹ See Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung*, 18; and Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 120.

Mancherley, but it remains unclear whether the Mozarts owned the whole anthology, just parts of it, or if *La Boehmer* was transmitted independently. If they indeed owned the entire *Musikalisches Mancherley*, they had a large amount of the newest fashionable north German music at their Salzburg home, including some more keyboard works and chamber music by Bach. With regards to keyboard music, the anthology contains five authentic sonatas (Wq62/10, 14, 18–20), five ‘*petites pièces*’ including *La Boehmer* (Wq117/23–7) and a minuet and polonoise (Wq116/1–2). Furthermore, the sonata for flute without bass (Wq132) and two trios for two violins and bass (Wq158 & 160) are published within the *Musikalisches Mancherley*.

As detailed in Chapter 3, volumes 2 and 3 of Marpurg’s *Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* were part of the Mozarts’ Salzburg library. Volume 3 includes Bach’s *Einfall einen doppelten Contrapunkt in der Octave zu machen* (Wq257), printed in the same issue of the periodical as the review of Leopold’s *Violinschule*.⁴³⁰ This essay provided an instruction to construct a double counterpoint out of snippets given in tables attached to the issue. It stands in the tradition of other aleatoric composition guides, such as *Der allezeit fertige Polonoisen- und Menuetten-Componist* by Bach’s Berlin colleague Johann Philipp Kirnberger.

One piece that is frequently mentioned erroneously in connection with the Mozarts’ early knowledge of works by Bach is the *Arietta con Variazioni*, number 39 of the *Notenbuch für Maria Anna Mozart*. The theme with some variations by Bach features in the 51st and 52nd issue of *Musikalisches Allerley*, published by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in Berlin on 17 and 24 July 1762,⁴³¹ which led to the theory that Leopold included a work by Bach in the *Notenbuch*, even though the print of the *Musikalisches Allerley* postdates the *Nannerl Notenbuch*.⁴³² The earliest known version of this widely disseminated theme⁴³³ can be found in Haffner’s *Opere scielte*, published around 1756.⁴³⁴ This print was the immediate model for the version in the *Musikalisches Allerley* and it is also the likely source on which Leopold drew for the

⁴³⁰ Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, iii, 167–81.

⁴³¹ See *Musikalisches Allerley von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern* (Berlin, Birnstiel, 1761–3), 190–6.

⁴³² See e.g. Wolfgang Plath’s preface to the edition of the *Notenbuch für Maria Anna Mozart* for the NMA: NMA IX/27:1, pages XVI–XVIII.

⁴³³ Variations on this theme are included in two other Salzburg manuscript sources and also in Christian Gottlob Neefe’s *Sechs Neue Klaviersonaten* (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1774), amongst others. For the Salzburg sources, see Petrus Eder, ‘Nannerl Mozarts Notenbuch von 1759 und bisher unbeachtete Parallelüberlieferungen’, *Mozart Studien*, iii (1993), 42; and Manfred Hermann Schmid, ‘Die Klaviermusik in Salzburg um 1770’, *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1978/79, 109–10.

⁴³⁴ See Ulrich Leisinger, ed., ‘Variations’, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach : Complete Works*, I/7 (Los Altos, 2014), 107–8; and Ulrich Leisinger, ‘Noch einmal die Arietta variata / Carl Fasch und die Berliner Pasticcio Variationen’, *Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736 – 1800) und das Berliner Musikleben seiner Zeit*, ed. Konstanze Musketa (Dessau, 1999), 114–29.

Nannerl Notenbuch. In terms of content, the theme and the first nine out of the eleven variations printed in the *Opere scielte* also appear in the Mozarts' version. Variations 6, 11 and 12 in the *Nannerl Notenbuch* differ from Haffner's print. It remains open, whether they are composed by Leopold or taken from another variation cycle on the same theme.

Given the close business and personal connection between Leopold and Johann Jakob Lotter, we can presume that the Mozarts owned quite a few of the editions of Bach's music distributed by Lotter (see Table 5.2). Yet, no documentation survives for any of the items, apart from possibly Lotter's imprint of Bach's *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen* (Wq113), as outlined above.

Table 5.2: Music by C. P. E. Bach published & distributed by Lotter

Work (place, publisher, year) [remarks]	Advertised in
<i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in D, Wq11; H414 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745)	1748, 1753
' <i>Concerto per il Cembalo, 2 Violini, Violetta, & Basso, fol.</i> ' [ambiguous: either as above <i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in D, Wq11; H414 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745); or <i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in B ^b , Wq25; H429 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1754) ⁴³⁵]	1754, 1757, 1759
<i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefüger Fingersetzung für Anfänger</i> , Wq113; H193–203 (Augsburg, Lotter, 1768)	Published 1768; advertised 1773
' <i>VI Sonate per Cembalo</i> ' [ambiguous – probably <i>Sei sonate per cembalo, che all'Augusta Maesta di Frederico II, Re di Prussia</i> , Wq48; H24–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1742), as the 'Württemberg sonatas' (Wq49; H30–4, 36) are designated as ' <i>opera II</i> ' in all of Lotter's surviving sales catalogues from 1753 to 1773.]	1748
' <i>VI. Sonatae per Cembalo, auf Regal-Papier</i> ' [ambiguous – probably <i>Sei sonate per cembalo, che all'Augusta Maesta di Frederico II, Re di Prussia</i> , Wq48; H24–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1742), as the 'Württemberg sonatas' (Wq49; H30–4, 36) are listed separately just below in the same catalogue and designated as ' <i>opera II</i> '.]	1753
<i>Sei sonate per il cembalo, dedicate all'Altezza Serenissima di Carlo Eugenio, Duca di Wirtemberg e Teckh</i> , op.2, Wq49; H30–4, 36 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1744)	1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
<i>Sonata à due violini e basso</i> , Wq158; H584 [published as part of <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763), 159–71]	1776
<i>Sonata per flauto traverso solo senza basso</i> , Wq132; H562 [published as part of <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763), 179–83]	1776
<i>Zwey Trio, das erste für zwo Violinen und Bass, das zweyte für 1 Querflöte, 1 Violine und Bass, bey welchen beyden aber die eine von den Oberstimmen auch auf dem Flügel gespielt werden kann</i> , Wq161; H578–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1751)	1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, [i] Henning / [ii] Winter, 1753–62)	1773

⁴³⁵ The print is dated '1754' according to Heussner, 'Der Musikdrucker Balthasar Schmid in Nürnberg', 358.

Ulrich Haffner published works by C. P. E. Bach himself, but he also dealt with editions by other publishers. The editions by other companies, which Haffner distributed, were not listed in Chapter 5.2 on the music trade in Salzburg, because Leopold stocked only Haffner's own publications as his agent. While we can assume that Leopold owned some of Bach's music distributed by Haffner, Leopold certainly had some volumes published by the Haffner company at his home. Haffner was the publisher of Bach's six 'Württemberg sonatas' (Wq49) in 1744 and several keyboard sonatas by Bach were included within Haffner's anthologies: the *Oeuvres mêlées* contain eight sonatas by Bach and the *Collection récréative* another two (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Music by C. P. E. Bach published or distributed by Haffner

Work (place, publisher, year) [remarks]	Year
<i>Herrn Professor Gellerts Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien</i> , Wq194; H686 (Berlin, Winter, 1758)	Advertised 1760
<i>Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen</i> , Wq50; H126, 136–40 (Berlin, Winter, 1760)	Advertised 1760
<i>Sei sonate per il cembalo, dedicate all'Altezza Serenissima di Carlo Eugenio, Duca di Wirtemberg e Teckh</i> , op.2, Wq49; H30–4, 36 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1744)	Published 1744; advertised 1760
<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, [i] Henning / [ii] Winter, 1753–62)	Advertised 1760
<i>Zwölf kleine Stücke mit zwey und drey Stimmen für die Flöte oder Violine und das Clavier</i> , Wq81; H600 (Berlin, Winter, 1758)	Advertised 1760
Sonata for keyboard in F-major, Wq62/9; H58 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , i (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1755)]	Published 1755
Sonata for keyboard in F-major, Wq62/4; H38 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , iii (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1757)]	Published 1757
Sonata for keyboard in E-major, Wq62/5; H39 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , iv (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1758)]	Published c1758
Sonata for keyboard in B ^b -major, Wq62/16; H116 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , v (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1759)]	Published 1759
Sonata for keyboard in F-major, Wq deest; H368 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , v (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1759)]	Published 1759
Sonata for keyboard in A-major, Wq65/32; H133 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , ix (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1763)]	Published c1763
Sonata for keyboard in a-minor, Wq62/21; H131 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , xi (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1765)]	Published 1765
Sonata for keyboard in E-major, Wq62/17; H117 [included in <i>Oeuvres mêlées</i> , xii (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1765)]	Published c1765
Sonata for keyboard in D-major, Wq62/22; H132 [included in <i>Collection récréative</i> , i (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1760)]	Published c1760
Sonata for keyboard in C-major, Wq62/7; H41 [included in <i>Collection récréative</i> , ii (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1761)]	Published c1761

Leopold's and Wolfgang's business dealings with the Breitkopf company in Leipzig were described by Neal Zaslaw.⁴³⁶ From surviving letters, we can glance that the Leipzig company distributed a large quantity of copies of the *Violinschule*: in January 1770, upon the publication of the second edition of Leopold's treatise, Breitkopf received 100 copies of the book.⁴³⁷ Around 18 months later, further 100 copies of Leopold's treatise were sent to Breitkopf, so presumably he sold most or all copies of the first batch by this time.⁴³⁸ Another 50 copies were posted to Leipzig in 1775.⁴³⁹ Furthermore, Breitkopf distributed the collection of keyboard pieces *Der Morgen und der Abend*⁴⁴⁰ and he advertised several of Leopold's orchestral works and some chamber music in manuscript copies.⁴⁴¹ Breitkopf also sold Wolfgang's three printed collections of sonatas for keyboard and violin, which were published as op. 1, 2 and 4 (K6-7, K8-9 and K26-31)⁴⁴² and he dealt with the engraving of the family portrait of the Mozarts.⁴⁴³ On the other hand, Leopold ordered sheet music and music books from Breitkopf⁴⁴⁴ and he arranged the acquisition of wind instruments from the workshop Grenser in Dresden for the Salzburg court via Breitkopf.⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, Leopold tried repeatedly to convince Breitkopf to publish compositions by Wolfgang, yet to no avail.⁴⁴⁶

A draft response by Breitkopf to Leopold's letter with the request for a list of Bach's works survives on the envelope of the original letter.⁴⁴⁷ All important points of Leopold's letter are dealt with: Breitkopf received the 50 copies of the *Violinschule*, he heard nothing from their mutual friend Grimm and all bills regarding

⁴³⁶ Neal Zaslaw, 'The Breitkopf Firm's Relations with Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart', *Bach Perspectives* 2, ed. George B. Stauffer (Nebraska, 1996), 85-103.

⁴³⁷ Writing from Italy, Leopold asks Maria Anna, whether Breitkopf has acknowledged the receipt of the books. See *Briefe*, i, 300; not in *Letters*.

⁴³⁸ See *Briefe*, i, 434; not in *Letters*.

⁴³⁹ See *Briefe*, i, 527; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁴⁰ See Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Bücher*, i (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1760), 16.

⁴⁴¹ See Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue*, 22 [6 symphonies], 58 [1 trio sonata], 109 [1 oboe concerto], 151 [2 partitas], 214 [4 symphonies], 267 [1 divertimento] & 563 [2 symphonies].

⁴⁴² See Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Bücher*, iv (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1770), 103.

⁴⁴³ See *Briefe*, i, 456 & 528; *Letters*, 210 & 265.

⁴⁴⁴ Benda's *Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke* (see *Briefe*, viii, 50; not in *Letters*), the first volume of Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (see *Briefe*, iii, 149; not in *Letters*) and two collections of sonatas by C. P. E. Bach (Wq50 & 51) (see *Briefe*, iii, 205; not in *Letters*).

⁴⁴⁵ See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 455-6; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁴⁶ See e.g. *Briefe*, i, 455-6 & 527; *Letters*, 209-10 & 265. *Briefe*, ii, 493; not in *Letters*. And *Briefe*, iii, 93; *Letters*, 710. Even though Breitkopf does show interest to publish some piano music by Wolfgang in 1782 (see draft response by Breitkopf to Leopold's letter from February 1781, which is given in the commentary to the Leopold's letter: *Briefe*, vi, 53; not in *Letters*).

⁴⁴⁷ The text of this draft response is given in *Briefe*, v, 359; not in *Letters*.

Wolfgang's sonatas and the engravings of the family portrait were settled. In reply to Leopold's suggestion that Wolfgang could write some sonatas as those by Bach with varied reprises for Breitkopf to publish, Breitkopf reacts evasively and complains about the difficult state of the music trade, which is gradually being taken over by book traders. While these points are written in the hand of Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, another hand added the following note, presumably as answer to the requested list of works by Bach: '*15. Son. / 1. Trio. 2. / 12. Conc.*'⁴⁴⁸

Cliff Eisen drew attention to this note and gave a table of 'about fifty works by the composer', which were advertised in Breitkopf's sales catalogues up to 1775.⁴⁴⁹ Yet, the real extent of Breitkopf's distribution of Bach's music is substantially larger than that, as Eisen relied only on the thematic catalogues published by Breitkopf and did not take into account the sales catalogues by Breitkopf without thematic musical indices.⁴⁵⁰ Breitkopf issued his non-thematic catalogues in two series: the first series contained printed sheet music and music books⁴⁵¹ and the second listed sheet music that could be acquired in manuscript copies from Breitkopf.⁴⁵² Four issues of the first series and three of the second appeared before 1775. While the group of catalogues containing manuscript music has large overlaps with the thematic indices, printed music is only rarely advertised in the six thematic catalogues and ten supplements, which appeared before 1775.

In summary, these catalogues contain 30 keyboard concertos by C. P. E. Bach, 58 keyboard sonatas, several volumes of accompanied keyboard music such as trios and sonatinas, three variation cycles and two collections of small pieces for keyboard. Two collections of songs, two cantatas and seven symphonies were also advertised by Breitkopf before 1775 either in printed editions or manuscript copies.⁴⁵³

It remains speculation whether Breitkopf indeed sent Leopold a list with all these works when answering Leopold's request in 1775. I assume that Breitkopf's reply contained only a few works, which the company sold in manuscript copies, because of the figures written on the envelope of the original letter: '*15. Son. / 1. Trio. 2. / 12.*'

⁴⁴⁸ *Briefe*, v, 359; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁴⁹ Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', 124–6.

⁴⁵⁰ Breitkopf issued eight non-thematic catalogues before 1775. For a list of these, see Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue*, page xi.

⁴⁵¹ *Verzeichniss musikalischer Bücher, sowohl zur Theorie als Praxis, und für alle Instrumente [...]*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1760–80).

⁴⁵² *Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen als für alle Instrumente, welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden [...]*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1761–80).

⁴⁵³ For a full list of the compositions by C. P. E. Bach advertised in Breitkopf's catalogues between 1760 and 1780, see Appendix O.

Conc'. These numbers correspond exactly with the works by Bach listed in the thematic catalogue of keyboard music, issued in 1763 (see Table 5.4).⁴⁵⁴

Table 5.4: Music by C. P. E. Bach advertised by Breitkopf in 1763

III. <i>Partite di C. P. E. Bach, per il cembalo solo. Raccolta I.</i> [= three sets of variations, Wq118/3–5; H44, 54, 65]
VI. <i>Sonate di C. P. E. Bach, per il cemb[alo] solo. Racc[olta] II.</i> [Wq65/1, 7, 9, 11–2, 23; H3, 16, 18, 21, 23, 57]
VI. <i>Sonate di C. P. E. Bach, per il cemb[alo] solo. Racc[olta] III.</i> [Wq65/2, 13–4, 16, 22, deest; H4, 32.5, 42, 46, 56, 370]
I. <i>Sonata del Sigr. C. P. E. Bach, a cl[avicembalo] ob[ligato] c[on] v[iolino]</i> [in g-minor, Wq deest; H542.5]
III. <i>Concerti di C. P. E. Bach, a cl[avicembalo] ob[ligato] c[on] viol[ini], v[iola], b[asso]. Racc[olta] I.</i> [Wq8, 20, 32; H411, 423, 442]
III. <i>Concerti di C. P. E. Bach, a cl[avicembalo] ob[ligato] c[on] viol[ini], v[iola], b[asso]. Racc[olta] II.</i> [Wq18, 29, 34; H421, 437, 444]
III. <i>Concerti di C. P. E. Bach, a cl[avicembalo] ob[ligato] c[on] viol[ini], v[iola], b[asso]. Racc[olta] III.</i> [Wq16, 19, Wq deest; H419, 422, 484.2]
III. <i>Concerti di C. P. E. Bach, a cl[avicembalo] ob[ligato] c[on] viol[ini], v[iola], b[asso]. Racc[olta] IV.</i> [Wq5, 6 & 24; H407, 409, 428]

Possibly, Breitkopf expected Leopold to know the printed editions of Bach's music anyway and only sent him a list of works available in manuscript or he enclosed a non-thematic catalogue of his printed music with his letter, but this remains pure speculation, since Breitkopf's letters to Leopold do not survive.

In any case, Breitkopf did post sales catalogues to Leopold in 1780 together with Benda's sonatas: after acknowledging the receipt of 'the two copies of Benda' Leopold adds that 'I will make use of the enclosed sales catalogues and disseminate them further if occasion arises'.⁴⁵⁵ Presumably, the catalogues were the most recent ones published in 1780, which included further works by C. P. E. Bach. While no documents survive, which prove their ownership of any further works by Bach than described above, we can assume that Leopold and Wolfgang would have noted with interest the new works by Bach advertised in the sales catalogue.⁴⁵⁶

In conclusion, a plethora of music by C. P. E. Bach in manuscript copies or prints was known to the Mozarts in Salzburg and was easily available to them, partly through the music dealers active in the town, partly through Leopold's contact with

⁴⁵⁴ *Catalogo de soli, duetti, trii, terzetti, quartetti e concerti per il cembalo e l'arpa* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1763). Reprinted in Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue*, 115–38. The works included in the thematic catalogue of 1763 are identical with the entries of Bach's music within the first two non-thematic catalogues of manuscript music, published 1761 and 1764.

⁴⁵⁵ *Briefe*, viii, 50; not in *Letters*.

⁴⁵⁶ For details of the works distributed by Breitkopf, see Appendix O.

foreign publishers. Breitkopf's catalogues also included many compositions by other members of the Bach family: keyboard music, orchestral music, cantatas and chorales by Johann Sebastian Bach, arias, concertos and symphonies by Johann Christian Bach and keyboard music by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach.⁴⁵⁷ Thus the catalogues by Breitkopf might help to explain why Wolfgang could mention four members of the Bach family with such a nonchalance familiarity in his letter from Vienna in 1782. Wolfgang's writing clearly presupposes that Leopold knew all these people and their music and there is neither an explanation of them, nor a particular excitement at 'discovering' new styles or new music. But he certainly seems to be enjoying devoting some time to this repertoire again:

I go every Sunday at twelve o'clock to the Baron van Swieten, where nothing is played but Handel and Bach. I am compiling a collection of fugues by the Bach family – not only of Sebastian but also of Emanuel and Friedemann Bach. [...] I suppose you have heard that the English Bach is dead?⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ For further information, see George B. Stauffer, ed., *J. S. Bach, the Breitkopfs, and Eighteenth Century Music Trade* (Lincoln, 1996).

⁴⁵⁸ 'Ich gehe alle Sonntage um 12 uhr zum Baron von Suiten – und da wird nichts gespielt als Händl und Bach. – so wohl sebastian als Emanuel und friedeman Bach. [...] sie werden wohl schon wissen daß der Engländer Bach gestorben ist?' *Briefe*, iii, 201; *Letters*, 800.

Conclusion

The lively culture of Enlightenment and Sensibility in Salzburg during the later half of the eighteenth century manifests itself in the personal erudition and interests of Salzburg citizens and in the book trade in town. *Empfindsamkeit* was displayed at the theatre, encouraged at school and idealised in the garden in Aigen and the newest music and music books from North Germany were generally available in Salzburg. The Mozarts' involvement in this culture and their engagement with modernity is strikingly documented in their interests, their Salzburg library and their social network at home. So, why did these issues which are plainly apparent from a plethora of sources receive so little attention in Mozart biography hitherto?

Apart from the historiographical prejudices against 'modernity' in South Germany, the reasons probably lie in our notion of 'genius', of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart as the quintessentially ingenious artist composing celestial music. Since the nineteenth century Wolfgang Mozart served as the perfect embodiment of genius and his music as the exemplary 'classical style' in music. The music and the person were removed from the humdrum questions of daily life: the music, which 'spoke for itself', and the composer transcended their contemporary context. Thus the context became unimportant or the context served as a foil to further substantiate the Mozarts' and in particular Wolfgang's uniqueness.

In the traditional notion, always having a book in their pockets made the Mozarts stand out from their Salzburg environment: Leopold was well lettered and highly erudite, knew the arts and the sciences, bought optical appliances in London and conversed by letter with Gellert. Wolfgang was raised in such an environment, but he shook off the rather bourgeois ideals of erudition and soared up to the realm an ingenious artist, removed from society.

Similarly, the Mozarts' extended travels provided them with rich artistic and intellectual experiences, which, as tradition has it, were unique among their fellow Salzburg citizens – and a main reason for their dissatisfaction with the archbishopric. They met some of the Paris *philosophes* personally and were stunned by the expressivity of Rubens's paintings in the low countries – but had to return to narrow-minded Salzburg and serve a Catholic archbishop.

Yet, Voltaire's and Rousseau's writings were widely available and read in Salzburg by close friends of the Mozarts and Flemish art hung in galleries of their home town. Friends owned modern optical equipments and shared Leopold's admiration for Gottsched and Gellert. So, far from alienating the Mozarts from their

environment, the interests and erudition might provide points of contact and social exchange.

Painted in 1711, Johann Michael Rottmayr's fresco for the *Schöne Gallerie* in the *Alte Residenz* in Salzburg suggests that the archbishopric actually had a tradition of an active quest for modernity in the arts and in sciences reaching back to the beginning of the eighteenth century at the very least (see Figure 23).



Figure 23: Johann Michael Rottmayr, *Allegorie der Künste und Wissenschaften* (1711).

Rottmayr's ceiling fresco represents a glorification of archbishop Franz Anton von Harrach and his support for the arts and sciences. Centrally in the middle sits the allegorical figure of princely glory and fame, surrounded by the sciences on the left and the arts on the right. As is fitting for an archbishop who shaped the architectural appearance of the city considerably the arts are foremost represented by architecture and sculpturing. On the ceiling to the right a separate fresco shows music and painting (not visible in Figure 23). The left side of the fresco includes a celestial and a terrestrial globe, an allegory of geometry with a pair of compasses and the allegorical figure of astronomy with a telescope. In 1711, scientific enquiry was part of the self-conception of a Catholic archbishop, just as for the princely rulers at other courts in the German speaking lands.

So perhaps it is time to acknowledge the specific cultural environment of the Mozarts in Salzburg, which was the background to their experiences abroad and

also to Wolfgang's life in Vienna. Recognising the fact that their lives and thus also their compositions are imbedded in contemporary society will not diminish the quality of the music. On the contrary, this context actually can provide a way to listen to and to experience the music in a new light – music by Leopold as well as Wolfgang Amadé Mozart. While a large amount of musicological discussions today still focuses on genius as manifested in structural ingenuity, very often the 'surface level' of dynamics, articulation and instrumental texture is at least as remarkable as the structural form. In particular in the case of the Mozarts, who both paid such strikingly detailed attention to the surface level of the music, this seems to be true and, in fact, Leopold Mozart himself suggests this in the letter to Meinrad Spiess from 1755:

The weak and the strong, which nowadays is not only applied to entire passages but also to single notes; the different ways to join and connect regular and also irregular notes or to separate them against the ordinary manner, and many other such things are [the features], which indicate and thus produce the affect in a well-set composition.⁴⁵⁹

This focus on the surface level of dynamics, articulation and sound colour actually accords well with *empfindsam* aesthetics and theories on the power of the 'lower faculties of the soul': while structural concepts can only be understood via the detour of the rational head, sounds will immediately touch the heart.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Das Schwache und Starke, welches man itzt nicht nur in ganzen Passagen, sondern auch bey einzelnen Noten anbringen muß; die verschiedene Art, die theils gleichen, theils ungleichen Noten zu verbinden und zusammenzuhängen oder auch wieder die sonst gewöhnliche Art, zu trennen, und derley viele andere Dinge sind es die in der sonst wohlgesetzten Composition den Affect recht anzeigen und ergo machen müssen.' *Briefe*, viii, 49; not in *Letters*.

Appendix A. The Library of Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil

The following table lists the books including full bibliographical details from Count Ferdinand Christoph von Waldburg-Zeil's library mentioned in Chapter 1.1.2. The list is based entirely on the printed catalogue of Zeil's library, which was issued for the auction of the library on 24 May 1787: *Verzeichniß sämmtlicher Bücher der zu offenem Verkauf stehenden ansehnlichen Bibliothek des letztverstorbenen des heil. röm. Reichs Fürsten und Bischofs zu Chiemsee Ferdinand Christoph aus dem Reichsgräflichen Hause der des heil. röm. Reichs Erbtruchsess zu Zeill und Trauchburg etc.* (Salzburg, s.n., 1787). Two copies of this catalogue survive at the *Universitätsbibliothek München* [D-Mu, W 8 H.lit. 86] & [D-Mu, W 8 H.lit. 255].

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)
Achenwall, Gottfried. <i>Geschichte der heutigen vornehmsten Europäischen Staaten im Grundrisse</i> , 2 vols. (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1764–7)
Adelung, Johann Christoph. <i>Pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europens</i> , 9 vols. (Gotha, Mevius, 1762–9)
Brockes, Barthold Heinrich. <i>Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott</i> , 9 vols. (Hamburg, [i–ii] Kißner / [iii–ix] König, 1721–48)
Brockes, Barthold Heinrich. <i>Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder-Mord des Ritters Marino</i> (Hamburg, Kißner, 1734)
Chiari, Pietro. <i>Commedie rappresentate ne' teatri Grimani di Venezia</i> , 3 vols. (Venice, Pasinelli, 1754)
<i>Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für den Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften</i> (Berlin, Haude, 1752)
Dante Alighieri. <i>La commedia di Dante Alighieri</i> (Venice, Pasquali, 1739)
<i>Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit</i> , ed. Christoph Gottsched, 12 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1751–62)
Denis, Michael. <i>Einleitung in die Bücherkunde</i> , 2 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1777–8)
Diderot, Denis. <i>Le père de famille</i> (Zurich, Heidegger, 1759)
Dusch, Johann Jakob. <i>Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks</i> , 3 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1770)
Eilenburg, Christian Heinrich. <i>Kurzer Entwurf der königlichen Naturalienkammer zu Dresden</i> (Dresden, Walther, 1755)
Engel, Johann Jakob. <i>Der Philosoph für die Welt</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Dyck, 1775–7)
Estève, Pierre. <i>L'esprit des beaux arts</i> (Paris, Bauche, 1753)
Gäng, Philipp. <i>Aesthetik oder allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften</i> (Salzburg, Waisenhausbuchhandlung, 1785)
<i>Gazette de Leyde</i> (Leiden, s.n., c1780–6) [volumes not identified; 'the recent years']
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Saemmtliche Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, Pauli, 1772)
<i>Gemeinnütziges Natur- und Kunstmagazin</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, Wever, 1763–7)
Georgi, Theophil. <i>Allgemeines Europäisches Bücher-Lexicon</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, Georgi, 1752–8)
Gläser, Friedrich Gottlob. <i>Versuch einer mineralogischen Beschreibung der gefürsteten Grafschaft Henneberg</i> (Leipzig, Crusius, 1775)
Goldoni, Carlo. <i>Le commedie</i> , 12 vols. (Torino, Fantino, 1756–8)
Gottschling, Caspar. <i>Einleitung zur Wissenschaft guter und neuer Bücher</i> (Dresden, Mieth, 1713)
Guarini, Battista. <i>Il pastor fido</i> (Paris, Jolly, 1731) [two copies]
Hagedorn, Friedrich von. <i>Sämmtliche Poetische Werke</i> , 3 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1765)

Hamberger, Georg Christoph. <i>Zuverlässige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schriftstellern vom Anfange der Welt bis 1500</i> , 3 vols. (Lemgo, Meyer, 1756–60)
<i>Hamburgisches Magazin</i> , 26 vols. (Hamburg, Grund, 1747–62) & <i>Neues Hamburgisches Magazin</i> , 20 vols. (Hamburg, Holle, 1767–81)
Hempel, Christian Friedrich. <i>Helden- Staats- und Lebens-Geschichte Des Allerdurchlauchtigsten und Grosmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrns, Herrn Friedrichs des Andern Jetzt glorwürdigst regirenden Königs in Preussen, Chur-Fürstens zu Brandenburg, und souverainen Herzogs in Schlesien</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1758)
Hermes, Hermann Daniel. <i>Die große Lehre vom Gewissen, in so fern sie die Gesetze der Religion und die Gesetze der Staaten verbindet</i> (Leipzig, Junius, 1769)
Hutcheson, Francis. <i>Abhandlung über die Natur und Beherrschung der Leidenschaften und Neigungen</i> (Leipzig, Siegert, 1760)
Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von. <i>Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten, als die Grundwissenschaft der Staatskunst, der Policy, und aller Regierungswissenschaften, desgleichen als die Quelle aller Gesetze</i> (Berlin, Rüdiger, 1760)
Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von. <i>Staatswirthschaft, oder, Systematische Abhandlung aller Oekonomischen und Cameral-Wissenschaften, die zur Regierung eines Landes erfordert werden</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1758)
Kant, Immanuel. <i>Der einzig mögliche Beweisgrund zu einer Demonstration des Daseyns Gottes</i> (Königsberg, Kanter, 1763)
Kleist, Ewald Christian von. <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 2 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1774)
Kleist, Ewald Christian von. <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, Voß, 1766)
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik</i> (Hamburg, Bode, 1774)
La Motte, Antoine Houdar de. <i>Les oeuvres de théâtre</i> (Paris, Dupuis, 1730)
Lavater, Johann Caspar. <i>Aussichten in die Ewigkeit in Briefen an Herrn Joh. George Zimmermann</i> , 3 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1770–3)
Lavater, Johann Caspar. <i>Jesus Messias, oder die Zukunft des Herrn</i> (s.l., s.n., 1780)
Ledermüller, Martin Frobenius. <i>Mikroskopische Gemüths- und Augen-Ergötzung</i> (Nuremberg, de Launoy, 1760)
Locke, John. <i>De intellectu humano</i> , 4 vols. (London, Aunshami, 1701)
Locke, John. <i>Della educazione dei fanciulli</i> (Venice, Pitteri, 1735)
Locke, John. <i>Essai philosophique, concernant l'entendement humain</i> (Amsterdam, Schreuder, 1755)
Luther, Martin. <i>Biblia</i> (Frankfurt, Egenolff, 1602)
Luther, Martin. <i>Der [...] Teil der Bücher des Ehrnwürdigen Herrn D. Martini Lutheri</i> , 12 vols. (Wittenberg, Lufft, 1539–72)
Luther, Martin. <i>Opera omnia</i> (Jena, Christian Rhodius [Richtzenhainus & Rebartus], 1570)
Luther, Martin. <i>Sowol in deutscher als lateinischer Sprache verfertigte und aus der letztern in die erstere übersetzte sämtliche Schriften</i> , ed. Johann Georg Walch, 24 vols. (Halle, Gebauer, 1739–53)
Mechel, Christian von. <i>Verzeichniß der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien</i> (Vienna, Gräfer, 1783)
Melanchthon, Philipp. <i>Corpus doctrinae christianae</i> (Leipzig, Rhamba, 1572)
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Phaedon oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele</i> (Berlin, Nicolai, 1769)
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Philosophische Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, Voß, 1771)
Metastasio, Pietro. <i>Poesie del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio</i> , 9 vols. (Turin, Stamperia Reale, 1757)
Mozart, Leopold. <i>Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1756)
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>Von der Glückseligkeit des gemeinen Wesens</i> (Munich, Osten, 1758)

Oberdeutsche Staatszeitung (Salzburg, Verlag der Salzburger Zeitung, 1784–5)
Piles, Roger de. <i>Historie und Leben der berühmtesten europaeischen Mahler</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1710)
Pope, Alexander. <i>Essai sur l'homme</i> (Amsterdam, Gautier, 1738)
Pope, Alexander. <i>Essay on Man : Der Mensch ein philosophisches Gedicht</i> (Altenburg, Richter, 1759) [bilingual edition]
Pope, Alexander. <i>Versuch vom Menschen</i> , trans. Barthold Heinrich Brockes (Hamburg, Herold, 1740) [bilingual edition]
Pütter, Johann Stephan. <i>Versuch einer academischen Gelehrten-Geschichte von der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen</i> (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1765)
Racine, Jean. <i>Oeuvres de Racine</i> , 2 vols. (Brussels, Migeot, 1717)
<i>Recueil des pièces de théâtre, qui ont été représentées sur le théâtre électoral à Dresde</i> , 6 vols. (Dresden, Gröll, 1765)
[Reimarus, Hermann Samuel]. <i>Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger</i> , ed. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (Brunswick, s.n., 1778)
Reinbeck, Johann Gustav. <i>Philosophische Gedancken über die vernünfftige Seele und derselben Unsterblichkeit</i> (Berlin, Haude, 1740)
Rheineck, Christoph. <i>56 Melodien zu Schelhorns geistlichen Liedern</i> (Memmingen, Diesel, 1780)
Rittershausen, Joseph Sebastian. <i>Betrachtungen über die kaiserliche königliche Bildergallerie zu Wien</i> (Bregenz, Typographische Gesellschaft, 1785)
Robertson, William. <i>Geschichte von Schottland unter den Regierungen der Königin Maria und des Königes Jacobs VI. bis auf dessen Erhebung auf den englischen Thron</i> , trans. Matthäus Mittelstedt, 2 vols. (Brunswick, Meyer, 1762)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Aemil oder Von der Erziehung</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, s.n., 1762)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Du contrat social, ou, Principes du droit politique</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1762)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Esprit, maximes et principes</i> (Neuchatel, Libraires Associés, 1764)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>J. J. Rousseau's Einsame Spaziergänge</i> (Munich, Strobl, 1783)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Jean-Jacques Rousseau a Christophe de Beaumont</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1763)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1759)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Lettre à Voltaire sur la providence</i> (Berlin, Formey, 1759)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Lettres écrites de la Montagne</i> , 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Rey, 1764)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Oeuvres choisies de M. Rousseau</i> (Paris, Desaint, 1744)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Oeuvres diverses</i> , 4 vols. (Amsterdam, Changuion, 1743)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Sämmtliche Reden</i> , trans. Johann Baptist von Auersperg (Augsburg, Veith, 1767)
Sailer, Johann Michael. <i>Vernunftlehre für Menschen wie sie sind</i> , 2 vols. (Munich, Strobl, 1785)
'Salzburger handschriftl. Chronik bis 1770' [a history of Salzburg in manuscript; not identified]
Samber, Johann Baptist. <i>Manuductio ad organum</i> (Salzburg, Mayr, 1704)
Scheidemantel, Heinrich Gottfried. <i>Das Bücherwesen nach Staatsklugheit, Recht und Geschichte so wol überhaupt als auch insbesondere nach Römisch-Teutschen Staats- und Privatgesetzen betrachtet : Vornämlich aber die Ungerechtigkeit des Büchernachdrucks mit einigen neuern Gründen erwiesen</i> (Leipzig, s.n., 1781)
Schelhorn, Johann Georg. <i>Sammlung geistlicher Lieder</i> (Memmingen, Diesel, 1789)
Schelle, Augustin. <i>Praktische Philosophie</i> , 2 vols. (Salzburg, Waisenhausbuchhandlung, 1785)

Schelle, Augustin. <i>Über die Pflichten der Mildthätigkeit und verschiedene Arten die Armen zu versorgen</i> (Salzburg, Waisenhausbuchhandlung, 1785) [two copies]
Schmauß, Johann Jacob. <i>Einleitung zu der Staats-Wissenschaft, und Erleuterung des von ihm herausgegebenen Corporis iuris gentium academici und aller andern seit mehr als zweyen seculis her geschlossenen Bündnisse, Friedens- und Commerciën-Tractaten</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1741–7)
Steinbart, Gotthilf Samuel. <i>System der reinen Philosophie oder Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums</i> (Züllichau, Fromann, 1785)
Struve, Burkhard Gotthelf. <i>Vollständige teutsche Reichs-Historie</i> , 2 vols. (Jena, Bielcke, 1732)
Thomson, James. <i>Jahres-Zeiten</i> , trans. Barthold Heinrich Brockes (Hamburg, Herold, 1745) [bilingual edition]
Voltaire. <i>Annales de l'empire depuis Charlemagne</i> (Frankfurt, aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1754)
Voltaire. <i>Candide ou l'optimisme</i> (Paris, s.n., 1759)
Voltaire. <i>Collection complete des oeuvres de M. de Voltaire</i> (s.l., s.n., 1757)
Voltaire. <i>Lettre philosophique Par Mr. de V***, avec plusieurs pièces galantes et nouvelles de différens auteurs</i> (London, aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1757)
Voltaire. <i>Lettres de M. de Voltaire a ses amis du parnasse</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1766)
Voltaire. <i>Lettres philosophiques</i> (Amsterdam, Lucas, 1734)
Voltaire. <i>Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Voltaire écrits par lui-même</i> (Berlin, s.n., 1784)
Voltaire. <i>Monsieur de Voltaire peint par lui-meme</i> (Lausanne, Compagnie des Libraires, 1769)
Voltaire. <i>Olimpie</i> (Geneve, s.n., 1763)
Walther, Gottfried. <i>Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec</i> (Leipzig, Deer, 1732)
Wegelin, Jacob. <i>Briefe über den Werth der Geschichte</i> (Berlin, Himburg, 1783)
Weitzenfeld, Johann Nepomuck von. <i>Beschreibung der Churfürstlichen Bildergallerie in Schleisheim</i> (Munich, s.n., 1775)
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Cyrus in 5 Gesängen</i> (Zurich, s.n., 1759)
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Herrn Wielands kleine Schriften</i> (Amsterdam, auf Kosten der Gesellschaft, 1772)
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Neueste Gedichte</i> (Weimar, Hofmann, 1777)
Willebrand, Johann Peter. <i>Grundregeln und Anleitungssätze zu Beförderung der gesellschaftlichen Glückseligkeit in den Städten</i> (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1771)
Wolff, Christian. <i>Vernünfftige Gedancken von den Kräfften des menschlichen Verstandes</i> (Halle, Renger, 1736)
<i>Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und Wachsthum der Wissenschaften</i> , ed. Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, 18 vols. (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1740–57)

Appendix B. The Library of Florian Reichssiegel OSB

The following table lists a selection of books from Florian Reichssiegel's private library. The shelfmark given refers to Reichssiegel's copy at the *Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, Salzburg* [A-Ssp].

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Shelfmark
Antesperg, Johann Balthasar von. <i>Die kayserliche deutsche Grammatick, oder Kunst die deutsche Sprache recht zu reden, und ohne Fehler zu schreiben</i> , 4 vols. (Vienna, Heyinger, 1749)	2322
Batteux, Charles. <i>Einleitung in die Schönen Wissenschaften</i> , ed. Karl Wilhelm Ramler, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1769)	2098
Bodmer, Johann Jakob. <i>Lessingische unäsoptische Fabeln : enthaltend die sinnreichen Einfälle und weisen Sprüche der Thiere; nebst damit einschlagender Untersuchung der Abhandlung Herrn Lessings von der Kunst Fabeln zu verfertigen</i> (Zurich, Orell, 1760)	12788
Braun, Heinrich. <i>Heinrich Brauns Einführung in die Götterlehre der alten Griechen und Römer</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1776)	13490
Cronegk, Johann Friedrich von. <i>Des Freyherrn Johann Friederich von Cronegk Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Posch, 1771–3)	13146
Faber, Johann Heinrich. <i>Anfangsgründe der Schönen Wissenschaften zu dem Gebrauche seiner akademischen Vorlesungen</i> (Mainz, Weyland, 1767)	2145
Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de. <i>Gesammlete Schauspiele</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Brandt, 1756–64)	12806
Hamann, Johann Georg. <i>Poetisches Lexicon : oder nützlicher und brauchbarer Vorrath von allerhand poetischen Redensarten, Beywörtern und Beschreibungen, scharffsinnigen Gedanken und Ausdrückungen ; nebst einer kurzen Erklärung der mythologischen Namen, aus den besten und neuesten deutschen Dichtern zusammen getragen</i> (Leipzig, Groß, 1751)	23548
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Betrachtung über die heroischen Tugenden</i> (Kiel, Bartsch, 1770)	2094
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Das Landleben</i> (Leipzig, Crusius, 1776)	2092
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Von der Gastfreundschaft : eine Apologie für die Menschheit</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1777)	2099
Hobbes, Thomas. <i>Elementa philosophica de cive</i> (Amsterdam, Boom, 1742)	19515
Hocker, Johann Ludwig. <i>Einleitung zur Erkenntnis und Gebrauch der Erd- und Himmels-Kugel</i> (Nuremberg, Monath, 1734)	23617
Kazner, Johann Friedrich August. <i>Neue Fabeln</i> (Berlin, s.n., 1775)	2947
Keller, Ernst Urban. <i>Das Grab des Aberglaubens</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, Mezler, 1777–8)	2316
Köhler, Johann David. <i>Kurtze und gründliche Anleitung zu der alten und mittlern Geographie</i> (Nuremberg, Weigel, 1745)	24818
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Fabeln</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, Voß, 1759)	12276
Neukirch, Johann Georg. <i>Academische Anfangs-Gründe zur Teutschen Wohlredenheit</i> (Brunswick, Renger, 1729)	2311
Pluche, Noël Antoine. <i>Historie des Himmels : darinnen vom Ursprunge der Abgötterey und von den philosophischen Irrtümern über die Entstehung des Weltgebäudes und der ganzen Natur gehandelt wird</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Meyer, 1764)	15643
Pock, Edmund. <i>Einleitung zur Universal-Historie : allen dieser Wissenschaft Liebhabern zum Nutzen</i> (Augsburg, Strötter, 1737)	15257

Pope, Alexander. <i>Versuch über die Critik</i> , trans. Gottfried Ephraim Müller (Dresden, Walther, 1745)	19736
Rabener, Gottlieb Wilhelm. <i>Satiren</i> , 4 vols. (Frankfurt, s.n., 1759–60)	12990
Ramler, Karl Wilhelm. <i>Lyrische Gedichte</i> (Berlin, Voss, 1772)	2753
Rieffel, Josua Joseph. <i>Rechtschreibung der hochdeutschen Sprache : mit kritischen Anmerkungen zum Gebrauche der Jugend</i> (Würzburg, Stahel, 1764)	22382
Scheffner, Johann George. <i>Jugendliche Gedichte</i> (Kaliningrad, Kanter, 1762)	12861
Scheuchzer, Johann Jacob. <i>Physica, oder Natur-Wissenschaft</i> (Zurich, Heidegger, 1743)	23679
Schönaich, Christoph Otto von. <i>Hermann, oder das befreyte Deutschland</i> , ed. Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1753)	12955
Thomson, James. <i>Gedichte : aus dem Englischen</i> , trans. Johann Tobler, 5 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1764)	12269
<i>Verbesserte und erleichterte griechische Grammatica</i> (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1753)	23422
<i>Verschiedenes zum Lesen für die Liebhaber der guten Sitten und schönen Wissenschaften</i> (Augsburg, Rieger, 1768)	19296
Weiß, Christian Felix. <i>Kleine lyrische Gedichte</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, s.d.)	2784

Appendix C. The Library of Dominikus Hagenauer OSB

The following table lists a selection of books from Dominikus Hagenauer's private library. The shelfmark given refers to Hagenauer's copy at the *Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, Salzburg* [A-Ssp].

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Shelfmark
Canitz, Friedrich Rudolph Ludwig von. <i>Sämtliche Gedichte</i> (Bern, Walthard, 1770)	12838
Cardonnes, Denis Dominique. <i>Histoire de l'Afrique : sous la domination des arabes</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, Saillant, 1765)	14539
Contant d'Orville, André Guillaume. <i>Geschichte der verschiedenen Völcker des Erdbodens : deren gottesdienstliche und bürgerliche Gebräuche, Ursprung der Religionen, Secten, Aberglauben, Sitten und Gewohnheiten enthaltend nebst einer genauen geographischen Beschreibung</i> (Hof, Vierling, 1773)	15475
Dante, Alighieri. <i>Dante Alighieri von der Hölle</i> , trans. Leberecht Bachenschwanz (Leipzig, Bachenschwanz, 1767)	13074
Darrell, William. <i>Il gentiluomo istruito : nella condotta d'una virtuosa, e felice vita</i> , trans. Francesco Giuseppe Morelli (Padova, Manfrè, 1746)	13935
<i>Das Lächerliche verschiedener Nationen</i> (Leipzig, Hilscher, 1766)	13794
Fischer, Johann Christian. <i>Lettres de Babet avec les reponses de Boursault : avec un abrégé de la vie de Babet</i> (Jena, s.n., 1769)	13482
Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de. <i>Auserlesene Schriften : nämlich von mehr als einer Welt, Gespräche der Todten und die Historie der heydnischen Orakel</i> , ed. Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1760)	13575
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 10 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1775)	12733
Geßner, Salomon. <i>Salomon Geßners Schriften</i> (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer, 1775)	12656
Goudar, Ange. <i>L'espion chinois : ou l'envoyé secret de la cour de Pékin</i> , 6 vols. (Cologne, s.n., 1774)	13808
Grafigny, Françoise de. <i>Lettres d'une péruvienne</i> (Amsterdam, Délaissé, 1751)	13026
Hausknecht, Balthasar. <i>Briefe des Fräuleins von B** : über die besten moralischen Schriften unsrer Zeit</i> (Lauban, Wirthgen, 1768)	13452
La Pouplinière, Alexandre J. <i>Daira : histoire orientale</i> , 4 vols. (Amsterdam, Macklot, 1771)	15155
La Touche, Nicolas de. <i>L'Art de bien parler françois</i> , 7 vols. (Amsterdam, Arkstee & Merkus, 1760)	19542
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Briefe von Herrn Mendelssohn und Joh. Caspar Lavater</i> (s.l., s.n., 1770)	20006
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Philosophische Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, Voß, 1777)	19491
Mésenguy, François Philippe. <i>Kurzgefaßte Geschichte des alten Testaments : wo man so viel es möglich war die eignen Worte der heil. Schrift beygehalten hat</i> , trans. Marx Anton Wittola, 10 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1770–1)	16215
Moser, Friedrich Carl von. <i>Daniel in der Löwen-Grube</i> (Frankfurt, Gebhard, 1767)	12828
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>Die wahre Andacht des Christen</i> (Vienna, Trattner, 1762)	14659
Noghera, Giovambattista. <i>Riflessioni su la filosofia del bello spirito</i> (Venice, Remondini, 1775)	18829

Perrin, Jacques-Antoine-René. <i>Les égaremens de Julie</i> (Paris, Montigny, 1761)	13114
Pöllnitz, Karl Ludwig von. <i>Histoire secrète de la Duchesse d'Hanover</i> (London, Compagnie des libraires, 1732)	13707
Pope, Alexander. <i>I principi della morale o sia saggio sopra l'uomo</i> , trans. Anton-Filippo Adami (Venezia, Novelli, 1765)	16540
Raynal, Guillaume Thomas François. <i>Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes</i> , 6 vols. (Amsterdam, s.n., 1773)	18946
Thucydides. <i>L'histoire de Thucydide de la guerre du Peloponese</i> , trans. Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, La compagnie, 1713)	11927
Weißbach, Joseph Anton. <i>Wie hat ein Seelsorger mit jenem umzugehen, welche vor Kleinmuth und Kummer nimmer zu trösten sind</i> (Augsburg, Doll, 1784)	18029
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Sokrates Mainomenos über die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope</i> (Biel, Heilmann, 1772)	13799
Wittola, Marx Anton. <i>Das neue Testament unsers Herrn Jesu Christi : mit Anmerkungen</i> , 3 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1776)	15922

Appendix D. The Library of Ignaz Johann Nepomuk Kuchardseck

The following table lists a selection of books from Ignaz Johann Nepomuk Kuchardseck's library. It is based on Kuchardseck's *Verlassenschafts-Abhandlung* [A-Sae, Verlassenschaft, 12/92] and my own research at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*. The shelfmarks given refer to extant volumes from Kuchardseck's estate at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su].

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Shelfmark
Aguesseau, Henri François de. <i>Reden und andere Werke des Herrn Kanzlers von Aguesseau</i> (Leipzig, Lankisch, 1762)	75083 I
Anderson, Jacob. <i>Neues Constitutionen-Buch der alten ehrwürdigen Brüderschafft der Frey-Maurer</i> (Frankfurt, Andreä, 1743)	20942 I
<i>Arlequin reviseur et mediateur ou l'Europe pacifiée pour ne rompre jamais à grands maux violens revides</i> (London, s.n., 1749)	73103 I
Bacon, Francis. <i>Moralische, politische und oekonomische Versuche</i> (Wroclaw, Horn, 1762)	
Becher, Johann Joachim. <i>Doctor Joh. Joachim Bechers, Nürrische Weisheit Und Weise Narrheit</i> (Frankfurt, Zubrodt, 1686)	R 66376 I
Borbone, Filippo. <i>Racconto storico-filosofico del Vesuvio</i> (Naples, di Simone, 1752)	71196 I
Breitinger, Johann Jacob. <i>Critische Dichtkunst, worinnen die poetische Mahlerey in Absicht auf die Erfindung im Grunde untersucht und mit Beyspielen aus den berühmtesten Alten und Neuern erläutert wird</i> (Zurich, Orell, 1740)	75086 I
Bülow, Heinrich Wilhelm von. <i>Noch etwas zum deutschen Nationalgeiste</i> (Lindau, Thierbach, 1766)	165978 I
Canitz, Friedrich Rudolph Ludwig von. <i>Des Freyherrn von Caniz Gedichte</i> , ed. Johann Ulrich König (Leipzig, Haude, 1727)	75014 I
Crotus, Rubianus. <i>Epistolae obscurorum</i> (London, s.n., 1689)	R 70237 I
<i>Der engländische Guardian oder Aufseher. Ins Deutsche übersetzt von L. A. V. Gottschedinn</i> (Leipzig, Kunkel, 1749)	73714 I
<i>Der Patriot</i> (Hamburg, König, 1747)	21592 I
Erasmus, Desiderius. <i>De civitate morum puerilium libellus</i> (Leiden, Gaesbeeck, 1671)	165085 I
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Der aufrichtige und ächte Regentenspiegel</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1750)	20325 I
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Die Begebenheiten des Prinzen von Ithaca, Oder, der seinen Vater suchende Telemach</i> , trans. Benjamin Neukirch, 3 vols. (Nuremberg, Wolff, 1743)	R 75133 I/1-3
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Oeuvres spirituelles de feu Monseigneur François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fenelon</i> , 2 vols. (Rotterdam, Hofhout, 1738)	
Fléschier, Esprit. <i>Lob- und Trauerreden, nebst dem Leben desselben</i> (Leipzig, Siegert, 1749)	90951 I
Fleury, Claude. <i>Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique</i> (Bern, s.n., 1766)	93616 I
Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier de. <i>Auserlesene Schriften, nämlich von mehr als einer Welt</i> , ed. Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1751)	162637 I
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Fabeln und Erzählungen</i> , 2 vols. (Strassbourg, Stochdorph, 1749)	73325 I/1-2
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Zwey Briefe : der 1. von C. F. Gellert, der 2. von G. W. Rabener</i> (Leipzig, s.n., 1761)	73467 I

Goldoni, Carlo. <i>Le commedie</i> (Bologna, Pissarri, 1754)	73157 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph, ed. <i>Geschichte der königlichen Akademie der schönen Wissenschaften zu Paris</i> (Leipzig, Krauß, 1749)	74684 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Ausführliche Redekunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1750)	
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Erste Gründe der gesammten Weltweisheit</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1756)	20397 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Gedichte</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1751)	70718 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Grundlegung einer deutschen Sprachkunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1748)	75903 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Historische Lobschrift des weiland hoch- und wohlgebohrnen Herrn Herrn Christians, des H. R. R. Freyherrn von Wolf</i> (Halle, Renger, 1755)	39797 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1751)	
Hagedorn, Friedrich von. <i>Moralische Gedichte</i> (Hamburg, Bohn, 1750)	
Haller, Albrecht von. <i>Versuch schweizerischer Gedichte</i> (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1751)	
Harenberg, Johann Christoph. <i>Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten, seit ihrem Ursprunge bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit</i> , 2 vols. (Halle, Hemmerde, 1760)	169139 I
Hoadly, Benjamin, and Benjamin Wilson. <i>Betrachtungen über eine Reihe elektrischer Versuche</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1763)	71460 I
Hobbes, Thomas. <i>Elementa philosophica de cive</i> (Amsterdam, s.n., 1760)	
Hume, David. <i>Vermischte Schriften über die Handlung, die Manufacturen und die andern Quellen des Reichthums und der Macht eines Staats</i> (Hamburg, Grund, 1754)	21563 I
Hutcheson, Francis. <i>Abhandlung über die Natur und Beherrschung der Leidenschaften</i> (Leipzig, Siegert, 1760)	
Hutcheson, Francis. <i>Untersuchung unsrer Begriffe von Schönheit und Tugend</i> , trans. Johann Heinrich Merck (Frankfurt, s.n., 1762)	
<i>Il segretario de galantuomini</i> (Venice, Mazzacurati, 1755)	74283 I
Jallabert, Jean. <i>Experimenta electrica oder Versuche über die Electricität</i> (Basel, Imhof, 1750)	61150 I
Kundmann, Johann Christian. <i>Rariora naturae et artis item in re medica, oder Seltenheiten der Natur und Kunst des Kundmannischen Naturalien-Cabinets, wie auch in der Artzeney-Wissenschaft</i> (Breslau, Hubert, 1737)	R 63044 II
La Beaumelle, Laurent Angliviel de. <i>Mes pensées</i> (London, Nourse, 1752)	94200 I
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Pope ein Metaphysiker!</i> (Danzig, Schuster, 1755)	20528 I
Loen, Johann Michael von. <i>Des Herrn von Loen gesammlete kleine Schrifften von Kirchen- und Religions-Sachen</i> (Frankfurt, Hutter, 1751)	86065 I
Machiavelli, Niccolò. <i>De officio viri principis</i> (Montbéliard, Foillet, 1599)	R 164852 I
Muralt, B��at Louis de. <i>Briefe ��ber die Engell��nder und Franzosen</i> (Weimar, Hofmann, 1761)	17292 I
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>De paradiso regnique caelestis gloria</i> (Verona, Vallarsi, 1738)	86631 II
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>Della carita Cristiana</i> (Venice, Recurti, 1736)	89416 I
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>Epistola paraenetica</i> (Augsburg, Rieger, 1765)	74422 I
Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. <i>La filosofia morale</i> (Naples, Guarracino, 1738)	87246 I
Muschenbroek, Peter von. <i>Grundlehren der Naturwissenschaft [...] mit einer Vorrede von Johann Christoph Gottsched</i> (Leipzig, Kiesewetter, 1747)	62730 I

Neumayer, Franz. <i>Die Christliche Beredsamkeit, nach ihrem innerlichen Wesen und in der Ausübung vorgestellt</i> (Augsburg, Wolff, 1759)	85779 I
Plinius Secundus, Gaius. <i>Naturalis historia</i> (Venice, Scoto, 1571)	R 77194 II
Pluche, Noël Antoine. <i>Schauplatz der Natur oder Gespräche von der Beschaffenheit und den Absichten der natürlichen Dinge, wodurch die Jugend zu weitem Nachforschungen aufgemuntert, und auf richtige Begriffe von der Allmacht und Weißheit Gottes geführt wird</i> , 8 vols. (Vienna, Monath, 1746)	R 62582 I/1-8
Plutarchus. <i>Plutarchi summi et philosophi et historici opus, quod parallela et vitas appellant</i> (Heidelberg, Lucius, 1561)	R 77451 II
Polignac, Melchior de. <i>Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et natura [...] prefatus est Io. Christoph Gottschedius</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1748)	70174 I
Popowitsch, Johann Siegmund Valentin. <i>Untersuchungen vom Meere</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1750)	16378 I
Rabener, Gottlieb Wilhelm. <i>Satiren</i> (Leipzig, Dyck, 1755)	70918 I
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Auserlesene Gedanken über verschiedene Gegenstände aus der Moral, der Politik und den schönen Wissenschaften</i> , trans. Daniel Ludwig Wedel (Gdansk, Wedel, 1764)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Du contrat social, ou, Principes du droit politique</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1762)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Emile, ou de l'éducation</i> , 4 vols. (Amsterdam, Néaulme, 1762)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Jean-Jacques Rousseau a Christophe de Beaumont</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1763)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Les avantages et les désavantages des sciences et des arts</i> (London, aux dépense de la Compagnie, 1756)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles</i> (Amsterdam, Rey, 1759)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Lettre à Voltaire sur la providence</i> (Berlin, Formey, 1759)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Oeuvres</i> , 4 vols. (London, s.n., 1753)	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Oeuvres</i> , 6 vols. (Neuchatel, s.n., 1764)	
Schachtner, Johann Andreas. <i>Poetischer Versuch in zerschiedenen Arten von Gedichten</i> (Augsburg, Wolff, 1765)	70719 I
Schramm, Carl Christian. <i>Neues europäisches historisches Reiselexicon</i> (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1744)	15339 I
Terrasson, Jean. <i>Philosophie nach ihrem allgemeinen Einflusse auf alle Gegenstände des Geistes und der Sitten</i> , trans. Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1756)	99485 I
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Italiänisch- Französisch- und Teutsche Grammatica, oder Sprach-Meister</i> (Frankfurt, Andreä, 1751)	75964 I
Voltaire. <i>Candide ou l'optimisme</i> (London[?], s.n., 1759)	
Voltaire. <i>Der unwissende Weise</i> , trans. Christian Heinrich Wilke (Leipzig, s.n., 1767)	162962 I
Voltaire. <i>Dictionnaire philosophique portatif</i> (London [Geneve?], s.n., 1764)	
Voltaire. <i>Essai sur l'histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne</i> (Basel, Walther, 1754)	
Voltaire. <i>L'esprit de Monsieur de Voltaire</i> (London[?], s.n., 1759)	
Voltaire. <i>L'ingenu</i> (Utrecht, s.n., 1768)	
Voltaire. <i>Le micromégas</i> (London, Robinson & Meyer, 1752)	
Voltaire. <i>Le siecle de Louis XIV</i> (Dresden, Walther, 1753)	
Voltaire. <i>Les scythes</i> (Neuchatel, s.n., 1767)	

Voltaire. <i>Lettres</i> (Geneve, 1746) [edition not identified]	
Voltaire. <i>Lettres secretttes</i> (Geneve, s.n., 1765)	
Voltaire. <i>Oeuvres</i> , 9 vols. (Dresden, Walther, 1748–54)	
Voltaire. <i>Olimpie</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1763) [two copies]	
Voltaire. <i>Précis de l'ecclésiaste et du cantique des cantiques</i> (Paris, s.n., 1759)	
Wolff, Christian. <i>Allerhand nützliche Versuche, dadurch zu genauer Erkenntniß der Natur und Kunst der Weg gebähnet wird</i> (Halle, Renger, 1745)	62590 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Auszug aus den Anfangs-Gründen aller mathematischen Wissenschaften</i> (Frankfurt, Renger, 1743)	71884 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Gesammelte kleine philosophische Schriften</i> (Halle, Renger, 1736)	162696 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Vernünfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen</i> (Halle, Renger, 1743)	90032 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von den Kräften des menschlichen Verstandes</i> (Halle, Renger, 1713)	98073 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von der nützlichen Erlernung und Anwendung der mathematischen Wissenschaften</i> (Halle, Renger, 1747)	71812 I
Wolff, Christian. <i>Vollständiges mathematisches Lexikon</i> (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1747)	71191 I
Young, Edward. <i>Der Triumph der Christen über die Furcht des Todes</i> (Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1756)	78538 I
Young, Edward. <i>Klagen oder Nachtgedancken, von Leben, Tod und Unsterblichkeit</i> (Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1755)	78538 I

Appendix E. The Library Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen

The following table lists a selection of books from Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen's library. It is based on Schidenhofen's estate inventory at the *Salzburger Landesarchiv* [A-Sla, Stadtgericht Salzburg, Verlassenschaft VI 1899/1823] and my own research at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg*. The shelfmarks given refer to extant volumes from Schidenhofen's estate at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su].

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Shelfmark
Arlequin reviseur et mediateur ou l'Europe pacifiée pour ne rompre jamais à grands maux violens rémèdes (London [i.e. Amsterdam], aux depens de la Compagnie, 1749) [book first belonged to Kuchardseck]	73103 I
Baumeister, Friedrich Christian. <i>Institutiones philosophiae rationalis</i> (Wittenberg, Ahlfeld, 1749)	99238 I
Beck, Dominikus. <i>Theoria logicae : quam una cum parergis ex universa philosophia rationali in Alma Archi-Episcopali Benedictina Universitate Salisburgensi</i> , 6 vols. (Salzburg, Mayr, 1763)	R 4613 I
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens</i> , 4 vols. (Hamburg, Bohn, 1785)	
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Kleine Seelenlehre für Kinder</i> (Hamburg, Bohn, 1784)	72501 I
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Theophron oder der erfahrene Rathgeber für die unerfahrene Jugend</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1783)	
Campe, Johann Heinrich. <i>Sammlung interessanter und durchgängig zweckmäßig abgefaßter Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Herold, 1785-6)	
Castelli, Nicolo di. <i>Il dizionario italiano-tedesco e tedesco-italiano, das ist italiänisch-teutsches und teutsch-italiänisches verbessertes Castellisches Wörterbuch</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1749)	
<i>Der wohl unterwiesene Landwirth oder der Freund des Landmannes</i> (Nuremberg, Schwarzkopf, 1768)	72296 I
Des Pepliers, Jean Robert. <i>La parfaite grammaire royale François et Allemande</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1717)	
Elsässer, Karl Friedrich. <i>Vermischte Beiträge vorzüglich zum Kanzleiwesen</i> (Erlangen, Palm, 1783)	93045 I
Engel, Johann Jakob, ed. <i>Der Philosoph für die Welt</i> (Leipzig, Dyck, 1775)	
Epp, Franz Xaver. <i>Abhandlung von dem Magnetismus der natürlichen Electricität</i> (Munich, Mayr, 1778)	
Förster, Johann Christian. <i>Anweisung die Weltweisheit vernünftig zu erlernen</i> (Halle, Hemmerde, 1765)	
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Briefe, nebst einer praktischen Abhandlung von dem guten Geschmacke in Briefen</i> (Leipzig, Fritsch, 1769)	78870 I
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder</i> (Frankfurt, Andreaä, 1774)	
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Lustspiele</i> [C. F. Gellerts Anmuthige Schriften, part 2] (Strassbourg, Stochdorph, 1749)	
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Vermischte Gedichte</i> (Leipzig, Fritsch, 1770)	73547 I
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Ausführliche Redekunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1750)	

Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Beobachtungen über den Gebrauch und Misbrauch vieler deutscher Wörter und Redensarten</i> (Strassbourg, König, 1758)	
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1762)	
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Vollständigere und neuerläuterte deutsche Sprachkunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1762)	
Götz, Godfrid Bernhard. <i>Heilige Communion- und Buß-Spiegel</i> (Augsburg, Götz, 1765)	G 461 I
Groschuff, Friedrich. <i>Abhandlung von den Fingern, deren Verrichtungen und symbolische Bedeutung in so ferne sie der deutschen Sprache Zusätze geliefert</i> (Leipzig, Griedrich, 1757)	20481 I
Guenther, Georg Christoph. <i>Praktische Anweisung zur Pastellmalerey</i> (Nuremberg, Weigel, 1762)	
Haller, Albrecht von. <i>Alfred König der Angel-Sachsen</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1779)	
Haller, Albrecht von. <i>Fabius und Cato : ein Stück der römischen Geschichte</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1779)	
Haller, Albrecht von. <i>Usong : eine Morgenländische Geschichte</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1778)	
Hermes, Johann Timotheus. <i>Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen</i> (Leipzig, Junius, 1776)	73268 I
Hübner, Johann. <i>Curieuses und reales Natur- Kunst- Berg- Gewercke- und Handlungs-Lexikon</i> (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1755)	
Hübner, Johann. <i>Reales Staats- Zeitungs- und Conversations-Lexicon</i> (Vienna, Bader, 1759)	
Iselin, Isaac. <i>Politischer Versuch über die Berathschlagung nebst einem Anhang vermischter Schriften</i> (Basel, Thurneysen, 1761)	97783 I
Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von. <i>Anweisung zu einer guten Deutschen Schreibart und allen in den Geschaefften und Rechtssachen vorfallenden schriftlichen Ausarbeitungen</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1758)	
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Geistliche Lieder</i> , 2 vols. (Reutlingen, [Fleischhauer?], 1780)	
Kreittmayr, Wiguläus Xaver Aloys von. <i>Grundriß des Allgemeinen und Deutschen Staatsrechtes</i> , 4 vols. (Munich, Fritz, 1770)	
<i>La sainte Bible : contenant le Vieil et Nouveau Testament traduite de Latin en François par les theologiens de l'université de Louvain</i> , 2 vols. (Lyon, Pillehotte, 1596)	86948 II
Leonardo da Vinci. <i>Des vortreflichen Florentinischen Mahlers Lionardo Da Vinci höchst-nützlicher Tractat von der Malerey</i> , trans. Johann Georg Böhm (Nuremberg, Weigel, 1724)	
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Lustspiele</i> , 2 vols. (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer, 1775)	
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Trauerspiele</i> (Reutlingen, Fleischhauer, 1775)	
Milton, John. <i>Das wiedereroberte Paradies</i> (Mannheim, Verlag der Herausgeber der [Werke der] ausländischen schönen Geister, 1781)	
Milton, John. <i>Verlornes Paradies</i> , 2 vols. (Mannheim, s.n., 1783)	
Moser, Philipp Ulrich. <i>Die Berechnung der Ehegrade</i> (Stuttgart, Erhard, 1786)	93050 I
Mozart, Leopold. <i>Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1756)	R 3203 I
Nemeitz, Joachim Christoph. <i>Nachlese besonderer Nachrichten von Italien</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1726)	15657 I

Reinhard, Johann Jacob. <i>Vermischte Schriften</i> , 8 vols. (Frankfurt, Macklot, 1765–7)	78185 I/1-8
Reinhold, Christian Ludolph. <i>Die Zeichen- und Mahlerschule oder systematische Anleitung zu den Zeichen-, Mahler-, Kupferstecher-, Bildhauer- und anderen Verwandten Künsten : zum privat und öffentlichen Gebrauch auf Schulen</i> (Münster, Perrenon, 1786)	R 72491 I
Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel. <i>Kurzgefaßtes Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1782)	20487 I
Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel. <i>Vorlesungen über Mahlerey, Kupferstecherkunst, Bildhauerkunst, Steinschneidekunst und Tanzkunst</i> (Augsburg, Aschendorf, 1777)	20487 I
Seither, Joseph. <i>Gründlicher Unterricht zur fruchtbaren Gärtnerrey</i> (Augsburg, Rieger, 1779)	
Shakespeare, William. <i>Willhelm Shakespears Schauspiele</i> , [unclear how many volumes] (Strassbourg, Levrault, 1778)	
Spalding, Johann Joachim. <i>Briefe von Herrn Spalding an Herrn Gleim</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1771)	74291 I
Sterne, Laurence. <i>Yoricks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, 4 vols. (Mannheim, Gegel, 1780)	
Sulzer, Johann Georg. <i>Theorie der Dichtkunst</i> , ed. Albrecht Kirchmayer, 2 vols. (Munich, Lentner, 1788–9)	
<i>Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg vom 18. Nov. 1775 bis zu Ende Febr. 1776</i> (Salzburg, Waisenhausbuchdruckerey, 1776)	2271 I
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Il dizionario imperiale</i> , 2 vols. (Cologne, Metternich, 1766)	
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Italiänisch- Frantzösisch- und Teutsche Grammatica, Oder Sprach-Meister</i> , ed. Nicolo di Castelli (Frankfurt, Andreä, 1766)	
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Le maitre Italien</i> (Kassel [Basel, Tourneisen?], 1747)	
Voltaire. <i>Preis der Gerechtigkeit und der Menschenliebe</i> (Leipzig, Schneider, 1778)	
Wallerius, Johann Gottschalk. <i>Chymische Grundsätze des Feldbaues</i> (Bern, Typographische Gesellschaft, 1765)	
Werlhof, Paul Gottlieb. <i>Gedichte herausgegeben von der deutschen Gesellschaft in Göttingen mit einer Vorrede des Herrn von Haller</i> (Hannover, Förster, 1756)	73540 I
Wilke, Christian Heinrich, ed. <i>Bibliothek der elenden Scribenten</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1768)	75332 I
Young, Edward. <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> , 5 vols. (Mannheim, s.n., 1780)	
Zimmermann, Johann Georg. <i>Ueber die Einsamkeit</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1784)	
Zimmermann, Johann Georg. <i>Vom Nationalstolze</i> (Zurich, Orell, 1768)	20370 I

Appendix F. The sales catalogues of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung*

The following tables provide an excerpt of the stock of the *Mayr'sche Buchhandlung* in Salzburg, sorted according to subject areas. Full bibliographical details, the year of the advertisement and the page number in the catalogue are given. No page numbers are printed in the first three issues of Mayr's monthly advertiser (January to March 1781) and therefore the month of the advertisement is given. Source: *Monatliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Salzburg in der Johann Joseph Mayrs sel. Erbin Buchhandlung zu haben sind*, 4 vols. (Salzburg, Mayr, 1781–4) [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 331].

Table (a) German novels & poetry, including literary journals

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
<i>Angenehme Lektüre für Frauenzimmer</i> , 12 vols. (Leipzig, Junius, 1779)	1783, 4
<i>Beobachtungen zur Aufklärung des Verstandes und Besserung des Herzens</i> (Ulm, Wohler, 1779–82)	1781, 44
<i>Bibliothek der Romane</i> , 7 vols. (Berlin, Himburg, 1778)	1783, 3
Clodius, Christian August. <i>Neue vermischte Schriften</i> , i–iv (Leipzig, Clodius, 1780)	1781, [March]
Cronegk, Johann Friedrich von. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1781, 27
<i>Der Einsiedler</i> , ed. Friedrich Just Riedel (Vienna, Ghelen, 1774)	1782, 40
<i>Der Liebhaber der schönen Wissenschaften</i> [ed. Christian Nikolaus Naumann] (Jena, Cuno, 1747–8)	1781, 56
<i>Die Großmuth edler Herzen oder die durch widrige Schicksale geprüfte und standhafte Liebe in der Geschichte des Chevalier d'Ulmy und der Miß Zulmie Warthei</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1780)	1781, 38
<i>Erzählungen für fühlende Herzen</i> , 2 vols. (Frankfurt, Mayer, 1780)	1781, 38
<i>Erzählungen und Geschichten theils lehrreichen und angenehmen, theils empfindsamen Inhalts</i> (Leipzig, 1780) [not identified]	1783, 35
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Briefe für junge Leute</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1771)	1782, 71
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Fabeln und Erzählungen</i> [no details given in catalogue. Leipzig, Wendler, 1767?]	1784, 44
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Leben der schwedischen Gräfinn</i> [no details given in catalogue. Leipzig, Wendler, 1763?]	1784, 44
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 10 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1774)	1781, 27
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 10 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1775)	1781, [February]
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 10 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1782)	1783, 48
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Sechs Briefe von Rabener und Gellert, wie auch des Letztern Unterredung mit dem König von Preußen</i> (s.l., s.n., 1762)	1783, 83
Gessner, Salomon. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1775)	1781, 27
Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig. <i>Sämmtliche Schriften</i> , 4 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1783, 53

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. <i>Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1778)	1781, 28
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. <i>Schriften</i> , 4 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1778–80)	1783, 53
Hagedorn, Friedrich von. <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1783, 12
Jacobi, Johann Georg. <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1783, 53
Kleist, Ewald Christian von. <i>Sämmtliche Werke</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1781, 28
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Über Sprache und Dichtkunst, Fragmente</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Herold, 1779)	1783, 36
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Der Messias</i> , 4 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1783, 36
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Der Messias</i> , 4 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1782)	1783, 53
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Die Hermanns Schlacht</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1783, 36
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Kleine poetische und prosaische Werke</i> (Frankfurt, Verlag der Neuen Buchhändler Gesellschaft, 1771)	1781, 45
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Lieder</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1783, 36
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Oden</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1783, 36
La Roche, Sophie von. <i>Geschichte des Fräulein von Sternheim</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1783, 76
<i>Leipziger Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1782</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1782)	1783, 58
<i>Lese-Kabinet zum Nutzen und Vergnügen</i> , 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1779) [not identified]	1783, 4
<i>Litterarischer Almanach der Deutschen auf das Jahr</i> , ed. Jeremias Nikolaus Eyring (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1777)	1781, 63
Miller, Johann Martin. <i>Geschichte Karls von Burgheim und Emiliens von Rosenau</i> , 4 vols. (Leipzig, Weygand, 1778)	1783, 4
Miller, Johann Martin. <i>Siegwart, eine Klostergeschichte</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1782)	1783, 4
<i>Neue Abendstunden oder fortgesetzte Sammlung von lehrreichen und anmuthigen Erzählungen</i> , 14 vols. (Leipzig, Korn, 1768–76)	1783, 3
Rabener, Karl Wilhelm. <i>Satyren und Briefe</i> , 5 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1779)	1781, 28
Ramler, Karl Wilhelm. <i>Lyrische Blumenlese</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1783, 53
Ramler, Karl Wilhelm. <i>Lyrische Gedichte</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1783, 53
Ramler, Karl Wilhelm. <i>Oden</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1781, 28
<i>Rührende Erzählungen und Gespräche</i> (Kempten, Fritzsche, 1782)	1783, 59
<i>Sittliche und rührende Unterhaltungen für Frauenzimmer</i> , 11 vols. (Leipzig, Hilscher, 1774)	1783, 4
Uz, Johann Peter. <i>Sämmtliche poetische Werke</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1781, 28
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Araspes und Panthea</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1780)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Beyträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Bonifaz Schleicher, oder kann man ein Heuchler seyn, ohne es selbst zu wissen</i> (Hanau, s.n., 1777)	1782, 45

Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Comische Erzählungen</i> (s.l., s.n., 1776)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Der deutsche Merkur vom Jahr 1779</i> (Weimar, Verlag der Gesellschaft, 1779)	1783, 77
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Der neue Amadis, ein comisches Gedicht</i> (Biel, Heilmann, 1772)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Der neue Amadis, ein comisches Gedicht</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1783, 76
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Der verklagte Amor</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Die Abderiten</i> (Bonn, Rommerskirchen, 1774)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Die Abderiten</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1783)	1783, 76
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Die Abentheuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva</i> (Biel, Heilmann, 1776)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Die Grazien</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1781, 29
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Idris, ein heroisch-comisches Gedicht</i> (Biel, Heilmann, 1772)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Idris, ein heroisch-comisches Gedicht</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1783, 76
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Musarion, oder die Philosophie der Grazien</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1778)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Musarion, oder die Philosophie der Grazien</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1781, 28
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Neueste Gedichte</i> , 3 vols. (Weimar, Hofmann, 1777)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Oberon</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1782)	1783, 76
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Poetische Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1776)	1781, 27
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Prosaische Schriften</i> (Zurich, Geßner, 1779)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Prosaische Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1781, 27
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Samlung der kleineren Werke</i> (Biel, Heilmann, 1774)	1782, 45
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Sokrates Mainomenos oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1781, 27
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Sokrates Mainomenos oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope</i> (s.l., s.n., 1781)	1782, 45
Zachariä, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Poetische Schriften</i> , 8 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1781, 27

Table (b) English literature

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Addison, Joseph. <i>Poems on Several Occasions</i> (Paris, Didot, 1780)	1781, 48
<i>Brittisches Museum für die Deutschen</i> , ed. Johann Joachim Eschenburg, i-vi (Leipzig, Weygand, 1777-80)	1783, 45
Brydone, Patrick. <i>A Tour Through Sicily and Malta</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, Stoupe, 1780)	1781, 48
Defoe, Daniel. <i>Des weltberühmten Engelländers Robinson Crusoe Leben und merkwürdige Begebenheiten</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Felßecker, 1773)	1783, 4
Defoe, Daniel. <i>The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe</i> (Paris, Stoupe, 1780)	1781, 48

1780)	
Fielding, Henry. <i>The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, Didot, 1780)	1781, 48
Goldsmith, Oliver. <i>The Vicar of Wakefield</i> (Paris, Stoupe, 1780)	1781, 48
Milton, John. <i>Das wiedereroberte Paradies</i> (Mannheim, Verlag der Herausgeber der [Werke der] ausländischen schönen Geister, 1781)	1781, 47
Milton, John. <i>Johann Miltons verlohrnes Paradies</i> , 2 vols. (Mannheim, s.n., 1783)	1783, 84
Milton, John. <i>Paradise Lost</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, Didot, 1780)	1781, 48
Pope, Alexander. <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> , xii (Mannheim, s.n., 1781)	1781, 47
Pope, Alexander. <i>Sämtliche Werke mit Wilh. Warburtons Anmerkungen und Commentar</i> , ed. Wilhelm Warburton, 12 vols. (Strasbourg, Heitz, 1778)	1783, 63
Richardson, Samuel. <i>Geschichte Herrn Carl Grandison</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1770)	1781, [February]
Sterne, Laurence. <i>A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy by Mr. Yorrick</i> (Paris, Stoupe, 1780)	1781, 48
Sterne, Laurence. <i>Tristram Schandis Leben und Meynungen</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, 9 vols. (Hanau, Göllner, 1776–7)	1781, 27
Sterne, Laurence. <i>Lor. Sterne's oder Yoricks Briefwechsel mit Elisen und seinen übrigen Freunden</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1775)	1782, 71
Sterne, Laurence. <i>Yoricks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien</i> , 4 vols. (Mannheim, Gegel, 1780)	1783, 77
Sterne, Laurence. <i>Yoricks nachgelassene Werke</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1771)	1783, 77
Thomson, James. <i>The Seasons</i> (Paris, Stoupe, 1780)	1781, 48
Young, Edward. <i>Einige Werke</i> , 3 vols. (Brunswick, Schröder, 1777)	1782, 28
Young, Edward. <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> , 3 vols. (Mannheim, Verlag der Herausgeber [der Werke] ausländischer schöner Geister, 1780)	1783, 74
Young, Edward. <i>The Complaint: or Night-Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, Stoupe, 1779)	1781, 48

Table (c) Philosophical books

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Die Empfindungs- und Erkenntnißkraft der menschlichen Seele</i> (Leipzig, Weygand, 1776)	1782, 35
Eberhard, Johann August. <i>Sittenlehre der Vernunft</i> (Berlin, Nicolai, 1781)	1782, 4
Feder, Johann Georg Heinrich. <i>Lehrbuch der praktischen Philosophie</i> (Frankfurt [Hanau, Fleischer?], 1775)	1781, [February]
Feder, Johann Georg Heinrich. <i>Logik und Metaphysik</i> (Frankfurt [Hanau, Fleischer?], 1775)	1781, [February]
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Das Landleben</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1776)	1783, 37
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Der Winter, eine moralische Betrachtung</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1780)	1783, 37
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Von der Gastfreundschaft</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1777)	1783, 37
Hißmann, Michael. <i>Magazin für die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte</i> (Göttingen, Meyer, 1778)	1783, 48

Home, Henry. <i>Grundsätze der Kritik</i> , 2 vols. (Frankfurt, s.n., 1775)	1783, 37
Lavater, Johann Caspar. <i>Aussichten in die Ewigkeit in Briefen an Hr. Joh. Georg Zimmermann</i> , 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1779) [edition not identified]	1783, 40
Lavater, Johann Caspar. <i>Vermischte Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Winterthur, Steiner, 1782)	1783, 40
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Phädon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1781, 28
Mendelssohn, Moses. <i>Philosophische Schriften</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1780)	1781, 28
Nudow, Heinrich. <i>Ueber die wahre Absicht und Beschaffenheit der Philosophie, und der Wissenschaften überhaupt</i> (Gdansk, Flörke, 1777)	1782, 39
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Aemil oder von der Erziehung</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, s.n., 1762)	1783, 67
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Die neue Heloise, oder Briefe zweyer Liebender</i> , 6 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1776)	1783, 4
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Eine charakteristische Anekdote des 18. Jahrhunderts</i> (Frankfurt, auf Kosten guter Freunde, 1779)	1783, 67
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Kleine Schriften, nebst einer Nachricht von seinem Leben</i> (Heidelberg, Pfähler, 1779)	1783, 33
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Philosophische Werke</i> , i (Reval, Albrecht, 1779)	1783, 60
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Sämmtliche Reden</i> , trans. Johann von Auersperg (Augsburg, Veith, 1767)	1782, 26
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. <i>Vier Briefe des Herrn Johann Jacob Rousseau, an den Herrn von Malesherbes, über sich selbst</i> (Brunswick, Waysenhaus, 1779)	1783, 83
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Earl of. <i>Über Verdienst und Tugend</i> , ed. Denis Diderot (Leipzig, Dyk, 1780)	1783, 36
Sulzer, Johann Georg. <i>Vermischte philosophische Schriften</i> , i (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1782)	1783, 53
Voltaire. <i>Preis der Gerechtigkeit und der Menschenliebe</i> (Basel [Berlin, Schneider?], 1778)	1783, 72
Voltaire. <i>Vermischte Schriften</i> , 6 vols. (Frankfurt, Walther, 1768)	1783, 72
Walch, Johann Georg. <i>Philosophisches Lexikon</i> (Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1775)	1781, [January]
Wieland, Ernst Carl. <i>Handbuch der philosophischen Moral</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Kummer, 1781)	1782, 48
Wieland, Ernst Carl. <i>Versuch über das Genie</i> (Leipzig, Kummer, 1779)	1782, 45
Zimmermann, Johann Georg. <i>Von der Einsamkeit</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1780)	1781, 27

Table (d) Books on the arts & aesthetics

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Batteux, Charles. <i>Die schöne Künste aus einem Grunde hergeleitet</i> , trans. Philipp Ernst Bertram (Gotha, Mevius, 1751)	1783, 13
Batteux, Charles. <i>Einleitung in die schönen Wissenschaften</i> , ed. Karl Wilhelm Ramler, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1774)	1783, 13
Batteux, Charles. <i>Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz</i> , ed. Johann Adolf Schlegel, 2 vols. (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1770)	1783, 13
Bodmer, Johann Jacob. <i>Critische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemähldte der Dichter</i> (Zurich, Orell, 1741)	1782, 58
Ernesti, Johann Heinrich Martin. <i>Moralisch praktisches Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften für Jünglinge</i> (Nuremberg, Felßecker, 1779)	1783, 30
Ernesti, Johann Heinrich Martin. <i>Praktische Unterweisung in den schönen Wissenschaften für die kleine Jugend</i> (Nuremberg, Felßecker, 1780)	1783, 30
Hagenbruch, Paul Georg. <i>Über die Schönheiten des poetischen Enthusiasmus</i> (Halle, Gebauer, 1776)	1782, 39
Herder, Johann Gottfried von. <i>Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks bei den verschiedenen Völkern, da er geblühet</i> (Berlin, Voß, 1775)	1782, 42
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Theorie der Gartenkunst</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1777)	1783, 37
Junker, Carl Ludwig. <i>Betrachtungen über Malerey, Ton- und Bildhauerkunst</i> (Basel, Serini, 1778)	1782, 23
Junker, Carl Ludwig. <i>Erste Grundlage zu einer ausgesuchten Sammlung neuer Kupferstiche</i> (Mannheim [Bern, Typographische Gesellschaft?], 1776)	1782, 80
Lippe-Weißenfeld, Karl Christian zur. <i>Empfehlung der Künste</i> (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1774)	1782, 85
Reynolds, Joshua. <i>Akademische Reden über das Studium der Malerey</i> (Dresden, Hilscher, 1781)	1783, 33
Rollin, Charles. <i>Anweisung, wie man die freyen Künste lehren und lernen soll</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Schwabe, 2 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1770)	1781, [February]
Schlosser, Johann Georg. <i>Longin vom Erhabenen</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1781)	1782, 80
Schubart, Christian Daniel Friedrich. <i>Kurzgefaßtes Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1782)	1783, 11
Schubart, Christian Daniel Friedrich. <i>Vorlesungen über Malerey, Kupferstecher- Bildhauer- Steinschneide- und Tanzkunst</i> (Augsburg, s.n., 1777)	1783, 74
Sulzer, Johann Georg. <i>Die schönen Künste in ihrem Ursprung betrachtet</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1772)	1781, 82
Webb, Daniel. <i>Betrachtungen über die Verwandtschaft der Poesie und Musik</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Eschenburg (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1771)	1781, 64
Wichmannshausen, Johann Georg von. <i>Theoretische Abhandlungen über die Malerey und Zeichnung</i> (Frankfurt, Stettin, 1769)	1781, [March]

Table (e) Theatre plays & books on the theatre

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Klein, Anton. <i>Ueber das Trauerspiel Agnes Bernauerin, bey dessen Vorstellung in Mannheim</i> (Mannheim, s.n., 1781)	1782, 74
Klein, Anton. <i>Ueber Lessings Meinung vom heroischen Trauerspiel und über Emilia Galotti</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1781, 47
Klein, Anton. <i>Ueber Wielands Rosamund, Schweizers Musik und die Vorstellung dieses Singspiels in Mannheim</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1781, 47
Klein, Anton. <i>Vom Edeln und Niedrigen im Ausdrücke</i> (Mannheim, s.n., 1781)	1782, 80
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Trauerspiele</i> (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1781)	1783, 36
<i>Kurzgefaßte Nachrichten von den bekanntesten deutschen Nationalbühnen überhaupt, und von dem k. k. Nationaltheater zu Wien insbesondere [= Journal von auswärtigen und deutschen Theatern]</i> , ed. Johann Friedrich Schmidt, 3 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1778–9)	1783, 46
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Lustspiele</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, Voß, 1767)	1783, 45
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. <i>Lustspiele</i> , 2 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1777)	1783, 45
Mercier, Louis Sébastien. <i>Neuer Versuch über die Schauspielkunst</i> , trans. Heinrich Leopold Wagner (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1776)	1782, 40
Schütz, Friedrich Wilhelm von. <i>Apologie, Lessings dramatisches Gedicht: Nathan den Weisen betreffend</i> (Leipzig, Kummer, 1781)	1782, 56
<i>Theaterjournal für Deutschland</i> , 21 vols. (Gotha, Ettinger, 1779–83)	1783, 53
Tralles, Balthasar Ludwig. <i>Zufällige, altdeutsche und christliche Betrachtungen über Lessings neues dramatisches Gedicht Nathan den Weisen</i> (Wroclaw, Korn, 1779)	1782, 5
Weiß, Christian Felix. <i>Lustspiele</i> , 3 vols. (Karlsruhe, Schmieder, 1778)	1781, 27

Table (f) Educational books & books for children

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Adelung, Johann Christoph. <i>Umständliches Lehrgebäude der teutschen Sprache zur Erläuterung der teutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1782)	1783, 80
<i>Beobachtungen zur Aufklärung des Verstandes und Beförderung des Herzens</i> , iii (Ulm, Wohler, 1781)	1781, 44
Brehm, Georg Niklas. <i>Über die gemeinnützigste Bildung des feinern Bürgers überhaupt, und des jungen Künstlers und Kaufmanns besonders</i> (Leipzig, Kummer, 1782)	1783, 34
<i>Briefe zur Ausbildung des Gemüths an ein junges Frauenzimmer gerichtet</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1774)	1782, 68
Brumbey, Carl Wilhelm. <i>Sittenlehre für Kinder nach Gellerts Grundsätzen der Moral</i> , 2 vols. (Halberstadt, Groß, 1778)	1782, 55
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Sammlung einiger Erziehungsschriften</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Weygand, 1778)	1782, 35
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen</i> (Prag, Mangoldt, 1780)	1781, 29
Campe, Joachim Heinrich. <i>Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1781)	1782, 80

Ernesti, Johann Heinrich Martin. <i>Moralisch praktisches Lehrbuch der schönen Wissenschaften für Jünglinge</i> (Nuremberg, Felßecker, 1779)	1783, 30
Ernesti, Johann Heinrich Martin. <i>Praktische Unterweisung in den schönen Wissenschaften für die kleine Jugend</i> (Nuremberg, Felßecker, 1780)	1783, 30
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Briefe für junge Leute</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1771)	1782, 71
Gerdil, Giacinto Sigismondo. <i>Betrachtungen über die Lehre und Anführung in der Kinderzucht, wider die Grundsätze des Herrn Rousseau</i> (Vienna, Trattner, 1771)	1782, 70
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Kern der deutschen Sprachkunst zum Gebrauch der Jugend eingerichtet</i> (Frankfurt, Eßlinger, 1780)	1783, 38
Resewitz, Friedrich Gabriel. <i>Gedanken, Vorschläge und Wünsche zur Verbesserung der öffentlichen Erziehung als Materialien zur Pädagogik, i</i> (Berlin, Nicolai, 1778)	1783, 29
Sturm, Christoph Christian. <i>Gebete und Lieder für Kinder</i> (Halle, Hemmerle, 1776)	1782, 37
Trapp, Ernst Christian. <i>Versuch einer Pädagogik</i> (Berlin, Nicolai, 1780)	1782, 55
<i>Vorschläge zum glücklichen Unterricht eines Knaben bis in das sechzehende Jahr</i> (Leipzig, Gollner, 1762)	1781, 35

Table (g) German language & Beredsamkeit

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Adelung, Johann Christoph. <i>Auszug aus der deutschen Sprachlehre</i> (Vienna, Trattner, 1782)	1783, 54
Adelung, Johann Christoph. <i>Grundsätze der deutschen Orthographie</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1782)	1783, 80
Adelung, Johann Christoph. <i>Umständliches Lehrgebäude der teutschen Sprache zur Erläuterung der teutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen, 2 vols.</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1782)	1783, 80
<i>Die deutsche Beredsamkeit in der Ausübung</i> (Frankfurt, Haug, 1780)	1783, 34
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Beobachtungen über den Gebrauch und Mißbrauch vieler deutscher Wörter und Redensarten</i> (Strassbourg, König, 1758)	1783, 38
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Kern der deutschen Sprachkunst zum Gebrauch der Jugend eingerichtet</i> (Frankfurt, Eßlinger, 1780)	1783, 38
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Vorübungen der Beredsamkeit</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1764)	1783, 38
Hebenstreit, Joseph. <i>Abhandlung von dem rednerischen Ausdruck</i> (Prag, Mangold, 1775)	1782, 44
Hemmer, Johann Jakob. <i>Abhandlung über die deutsche Sprache zum Nutzen der Pfalz</i> (Mannheim, Akademie-Verlag, 1769)	1782, 44
Schulze, Matthäus J. <i>Muster der Beredsamkeit</i> (Leipzig, König, 1755)	1782, 2

Table (h) Miscellaneous pastimes & gardening

Author. Title (place, publisher / printer, year)	Year, page
Abercrombie, John. <i>Praktische Anweisung zur Gartenkunst für alle Monate des Jahres</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1779)	1782, 88
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Das Landleben</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1776)	1783, 37
Hirschfeld, Christian Cay Lorenz. <i>Theorie der Gartenkunst</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1777)	1783, 37
Junker, Carl Ludwig. <i>Erste Grundlage zu einer ausgesuchten Sammlung Kupferstiche</i> (Mannheim [Bern, Typographische Gesellschaft?], 1776)	1782, 80
Krause, Christian Ludwig. <i>Fünzigjähriger erfahrungsmäßiger Unterricht von der Gärtnerey</i> (Berlin, Decker, 1773)	1782, 88
Müller, Friedrich Christoph. <i>Ausführliche Abhandlung über die Silhouetten und deren Zeichnung, Verjüngung, Verzierung und Vervielfältigung</i> (Frankfurt, Perrenon, 1780)	1782, 4
Müller, Friedrich Christoph. <i>Physiognomisches Cabinet für Freunde und Schüler der Menschenkenntniß</i> (Münster, Perrenon, 1780)	1782, 80
Zufällige Gedanken über Herrn Lavaters Physiognomische Fragmente (Halle, Hendel, 1776)	1782, 62

Appendix G. Extant sales catalogues of the itinerant book traders visiting the Salzburg fairs

1) Tobias Elias Lotter, Augsburg

1774: *Verzeichnis derer Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche nebst noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändler in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten. 1774.*

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.4]

1776: *Verzeichnis der neuen Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Oster-Messen herausgekommen, und nebst noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändlern in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten. 1776.*

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.5]

1777: *Verzeichniß der neuen Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messen herausgekommen, und nebst noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändlern in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten. 1777.*

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.6]

2) Wolfgang Schwarzkopf, Nuremberg

1766: *Catalogus Librorum novissimorum Omnium Facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche in dieser Müncher Gebnacht-Duldt bey Wolffgang Schwartzkopf von Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind. 1766.*

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München [D-Mbs, Cat.744k]

1771, 1772, 1773, 1775: *Catalogus Librorum novissimorum Omnium Facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche aus der Frankfurter und Leipziger Messe 1771 [1772 / 1773 / 1775] angekommen, und nebst vielen andern, so hierinnen nicht enthaltenen bey Wolfgang Schwartzkopf in Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind.*

Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart [D-Sl, HBF 2499]

1776: *Catalogus Librorum novissimorum Omnium Facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche aus der Frankfurter und Leipziger Oster-Messe 1776 angekommen, und nebst vielen andern, so hierinnen nicht enthaltenen bey Wolfgang Schwartzkopf in Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind.*

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/1A,Adl.3]

3) Joseph Wolff, Augsburg

1760: *Catalogus Librorum, oder Verzeichnuß derer Bücher, welche bey Joseph Wolff, Catholischen Buchhandlern zu Augsburg, und Ynnsbrugg, das gantze Jahr, und in beyden Jahrmärckten, zu Hall im Tyrol, und zu Saltzburg, nebst vielen anderen hierin nicht enthaltenen, um billigen Preiß zu haben seynd. Anno 1760.*

Studienbibliothek Dillingen Donau [D-DI, Mag/ A 1781]

1774 - 1778: *Monathliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Augsburg in der Joseph-Wolffischen Buchhandlung zu haben sind. Erster [Zweyter / Dritter / Vierter / Fünfter] Jahrgang. 1774 [1775 / 1776 / 1777 / 1778].*

Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg [A-Su, 162981 I]; the years 1777-8 are also included in Universitätsbibliothek München [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 330]

1779 - 1781: *Alphabethische Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Augsburg in der Joseph-Wolffischen Buchhandlung zu haben sind. Fürs Jahr 1779 [1780 / 1781].*

Universitätsbibliothek München [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 330]

Appendix H. The Mozarts' Salzburg library – books owned by the Mozarts

The following table lists books that the Mozarts owned. Library sigla and shelfmarks are provided for books from the Mozarts' Salzburg library, which are still extant; otherwise the source is given, by which their ownership is documented. If the bibliographical details are given in square brackets, the exact edition owned by the Mozarts cannot be identified.

Author. Title (place, publisher, year) [remarks]	Location / source
Albrizzi, Giovanni Battista. <i>Forestier illuminato intorno le cose più rare, e curiose, antiche, e moderne della città di Venezia</i> (Venice, Albrizzi, 1765)	Dokumente, 497 & 509 ¹
<i>Atlas des enfans, ou Méthode nouvelle, courte, facile et démonstrative, pour apprendre la géographie</i> (Amsterdam, Schneider, 1760)	Dokumente, 497 & 509 ²
Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de. <i>Eugénie</i> [Paris, Merlin, 1768]	LM Licitation
Biancolini, Giovanni Battista. <i>Dei vescovi e governatori di Verona</i> (Verona, Ramanzini, 1757)	A-Su, R 11988 II
Butler, Samuel. <i>Hudibras, ein satyrisches Gedicht</i> , trans. Johann Heinrich Waser (Hamburg and Leipzig [i. e. Zurich], Orell, 1765)	A-Su, R 73562 I
Consbruch, Florens Arnold. <i>Versuche in Westphälischen Gedichten, von E. C.</i> (Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1751)	A-Sca, 19049
Corneille, Thomas. <i>Le Comte d'Essex</i> [Paris, par les Associe, 1758]	LM Licitation
Des Pepliers, Jean Robert. <i>Nouvelle et parfaite grammaire royale Française et Allemande</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1753)	A-Su, R 71124 I
Desing, Anselm. <i>Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie vor junge Leuthe</i> (Salzburg, Mayr, 1750)	A-Su, R 3349 I
Desing, Anselm. <i>Kürtziste Universal-Historie nach der Geographia auf der Land-Karte zu erlernen von der studirenden Jugend des Bischöflichen Lycei zu Freysing</i> (Augsburg, Strötter, 1736)	A-Sm, RaraLit 266
Diderot, Denis. <i>Le père de famille</i> (Amsterdam, s.n., 1758) ³	LM Licitation
Diderot, Denis. <i>Le fils naturel ou les épreuves de la vertu</i> [Amsterdam, s.n., 1757]	LM Licitation
Eleonora Maria Rosalia. <i>Freywillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appfel deß christlichen Samaritans</i> [Vienna, Monath, 1741]	Briefe, iv, 18
<i>Etrennes mignonnes pour l'an bissextile de Notre Seigneur</i> (Liège, Kints, 1764)	Konrad/Staehelin, 118–9
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Die Begebenheiten Des Prinzen von Ithaca, oder: Der seinen Vater Ulysses suchende Telemach</i> , trans. Benjamin Neukirch, 3 vols. [Onolzbach, Lüders, 1727–39]	Briefe, i, 388
Fux, Johann Joseph. <i>Gradus ad parnassum</i> (Vienna, van Ghelen, 1725)	A-Sm, RaraLit 36
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder</i> [Leipzig, Weidmann, 1757]	Briefe, i, 140

¹ This volume is only securely documented as part of Wolfgang Mozart's library in Vienna, but in all likelihood it stemmed from the family's Salzburg library.

² This volume is only securely documented as part of Wolfgang Mozart's library in Vienna, but in all likelihood it stemmed from the family's Salzburg library.

³ Leopold Mozart's copy was sold by Sotheby's in 2007. See Sotheby's France, ed., *100 livres, manuscrits, documents & objets littéraires de la collection Pierre Leroy : Paris, mercredi 27 juin 2007* (Paris, 2007), 82.

Gessner, Salomon. <i>Schriften</i> , 4 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1765)	A-Sm, RaraLit 117-1/2
Giovannini, Girolamo. <i>Officium hebdomadæ sanctæ juxta formam missalis, & breviarii romani sub Urbano VIII. correcti</i> (Venice, Pezzana, 1727)	A-Sca, 16773
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1749)	Briefe, i, 5 & 8-10
Grimm, Friedrich Melchior von. <i>Le petit prophète de Boehmischbroda</i> [Paris, s.n., 1753]	Briefe, i, 261
Helck, Johann Christian. <i>Fabeln von J. Ch. Helck : Vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage</i> (Dresden, Harpeter, 1755)	A-Sca, 19049
Keyssler, Johann Georg. <i>Neueste Reisen durch Teutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweitz, Italien und Lothringen</i> , 2 vols. [Hannover, Förster, 1740-1]	Briefe, i, 299, 304 & 335
La Beaumelle, Laurent Angliviel de. <i>Mes pensées</i> [Berlin, s.n., 1752]	LM Licitation
Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie. <i>Lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder zu richtiger Bildung ihres Verstandes und Herzens</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Schwabe, 4 vols. [Leipzig, Weidmann, 1759]	Briefe, i, 261 & iii, 526
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> , ii & iii (Berlin, Lange, 1756-8)	A-Su, R 160038 I/2-3
Martini, Giovanni Battista. <i>Storia della musica</i> , i & ii (Bologna, Volpe, 1757-70)	Briefe, i, 394
Metastasio, Pietro. <i>Poesie del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio</i> , 9 vols. (Turin, Stamperia Reale, 1757)	Briefe, i, 312
Molière. <i>Sämmtliche Lustspiele</i> , trans. Friedrich Samuel Bierling, 4 vols. (Hamburg, Herold, 1752)	Briefe, ii, 328
Molière. <i>Opere del Molière ora nuovamente tradotte nell'italiana favella</i> , trans. Gasparo Gozzi, 4 vols. (Venice, Novelli, 1756-7)	LM Licitation
Mozart, Leopold. <i>Grondig onderwys in het behandelen der viool</i> (Haarlem, Enschede, 1766)	Briefe, i, 219-20; LM Licitation
Mozart, Leopold. <i>Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon</i> , trans. Valentin Roeser (Paris, Le Menu, 1770)	Briefe, ii, 368 & 374; LM Licitation
<i>Neue Fabeln und Erzählungen in gebundener Schreibart</i> (Hamburg, König, 1749)	A-Sca, 19049
<i>Novelle arabe : divisé in mille ed una notte</i> [Venice, Occhi, 1753-5]	Briefe, i, 372
Reichardt, Johann Friedrich, ed. <i>Musikalisches Kunstmagazin</i> , i (Berlin, s.n., 1782)	Briefe, iii, 149
Richardson, Samuel. <i>Geschichte Herrn Carl Grandison</i> , 7 vols. [Leipzig, Weidmann, 1754-5]	Briefe, iii, 337, 563 & 612
Riepel, Joseph. <i>Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst</i> , i-iii (Regensburg, Bader, 1752-7), iv-v (Augsburg, Lotter, 1765-8) [it remains unclear how many volumes the Mozarts owned]	Briefe, i, 501
Rogissard, Alexandre de. <i>Nouvelle grammaire Angloise</i> (London, Nourse & Vaillant, 1763)	A-Su, R 71090 I

Sacchi, Giovenale. <i>Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia</i> (Milan, Mazzucchelli, 1770)	GB-Ge, Sp Coll F.c.26
Spiess, Meinrad. <i>Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1745)	Letter by Keldorfer ⁴
Stephanie, Christian Gottlob, ed. <i>Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht</i> , 2 vols. (Vienna, Gräffer, 1768–9) [possibly the Mozarts also owned the antecedent and the subsequent publications in this series: <i>Gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen und Unterricht</i> , 2 vols. (Vienna, Trattner, 1766–7) and <i>Neue gesammelte Schriften zum Vergnügen</i> (Vienna, van Ghelen, 1769–70)]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 460
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Il dittionario imperiale</i> , i (Cologne, Noethen, 1743)	A-Sca, 41555
Veneroni, Giovanni. <i>Il dittionario imperiale</i> , ii–iv (Cologne, Noethen, 1743)	A-Sm, RaraLit 212-1/3
Vogler, Georg Joseph. <i>Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst</i> (Mannheim, Hofbuchdruckerei, 1776)	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 435
Vogler, Georg Joseph. <i>Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule</i> (Mannheim, Schwan, 1778)	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 374
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Poetische Schriften</i> , 3 vols. (Zurich, Orell, 1762)	Nissen, ⁵ 116–7
Willebrand, Johann Peter. <i>Historische Berichte und praktische Anmerkungen auf Reisen</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1761)	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 114

Books owned by the Mozarts – not identified

Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. ‘Two books by Muratori’	<i>Briefe</i> , iv, 27
Wieland, Christoph Martin. ‘A book by Wieland’	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 607
‘ <i>Resultat des Emserbad</i> ’ [a booklet on the results of the congress in Bad Ems 1786]	<i>Briefe</i> , iv, 19 & 23
‘a large English dictionary in two parts’ [bought from the book trader Klett]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 259
‘an English grammar’	LM Licitation
‘a small English grammar’	LM Licitation
‘an English book’	LM Licitation
‘a French grammar’	LM Licitation
‘six French booklets’ [probably theatre textbooks]	LM Licitation
‘the large Latin prayer book’ [includes all psalms and other church texts]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 59
‘the German translation of the psalms’	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 59
‘three French prayer booklets’	LM Licitation
‘An English prayer book, bought in London’	A-Sca [lost]

⁴ Leopold Mozart’s copy of Spiess’s treatise was owned by Viktor Keldorfer in 1957. See letter by Viktor Keldorfer to Ernst Fritz Schmid, dated 2 March 1957, now deposited at the archives of the *Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*.

⁵ Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1828).

Appendix I. The Mozarts' literary knowledge – books known to the Mozarts

The following table lists books that the Mozarts knew. Next to full bibliographical information of the books, the sources are given, by which their knowledge is documented. If the bibliographical details are given in square brackets, the exact edition known to the Mozarts cannot be identified.

Author. Title (place, publisher, year)	Source
Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'. <i>Elémens de musique théorique et pratique suivant les principes de M. Rameau</i> (Paris, Le Breton, 1752) ⁶	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 374
Alvares, Manuel. <i>Principia seu rudimenta grammatices</i> [Augsburg, Wolff, 1744]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 84
Artusi, Giovanni Maria. <i>L'arte del contraponto</i> (Venice, Vincenti, 1598)	<i>Violinschule</i> , 17, 21 & 28
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen</i> , i (Berlin, Henning, 1753)	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 374 & viii, 49
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen</i> , ii (Berlin, Winter, 1762)	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 374 ⁷
Bérard, Jean-Antoine. <i>L'art du chant</i> [Paris, Dessaint, 1755]	<i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Bontempi, Giovanni Andrea. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Brossard, Sébastien de. <i>Dictionnaire de musique</i> [Paris, Ballard, 1703]	<i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Bümler, Georg Heinrich. 'Neueste Temperatur', <i>Critica musica</i> , ed. Johann Mattheson, i (Hamburg, Wiering, 1722), 52–3.	<i>Violinschule</i> , 47
Calmet, Augustin. <i>Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament</i> [Paris, Emery, 1707–16]	<i>Violinschule</i> , 12
Canitz, Friedrich von. <i>Des Freyherrn von Canitz Gedichte, Mehrentheils aus seinen eigenhändigen Schrifften verbessert und vermehret</i> [Berlin, Haude, 1750] [includes the poem <i>Die Zufriedenheit im niedrigen Stande</i> set by L. Mozart]	LMV VI:3
Chambers, Ephraim. <i>Dittionario universale di arti e di scienze</i> [Venice, Pasquali, 1746]	<i>Violinschule</i> , 13 & 18–9
Desing, Anselm. <i>Index poeticus</i> (Amberg, Koch, 1731)	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 14
' <i>Die tausend und eine Nacht</i> '	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 372
Dückher, Franz. <i>Salzburgische Chronica</i> (Salzburg, Mayr, 1666)	<i>Der Morgen & der Abend</i> ⁸
Eschenbach, Andreas Christian. <i>Orphei argonautica hymni et de lapidibus</i> (Utrecht, van de Water, 1689)	<i>Violinschule</i> , 15
Estienne, Robert. <i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> [Basel, Thurnis, 1740] ⁹	<i>Violinschule</i> , 13 & 18
Euler, Leonhard. <i>Tentamen novae theoriae musicae</i> [St. Petersburg, Typographia academiae scientiarum, 1739]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17

⁶ Possibly Leopold Mozart knows Marpurge's translation of the work and not the original French treatise: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurge, *Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst* (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757).

⁷ Possibly, this letter refers only to part one of Bach's treatise.

⁸ Leopold Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend*, preface unpaginated [footnote e)].

⁹ A copy of this edition is held at the Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg [A-Su, 77906 III].

Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Die Erziehung der Töchter</i> [Lübeck, Böckmann, 1735]	Briefe, i, 388
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. <i>Gespräche der Todten alter und neuer Zeiten</i> , 2 vols. [Frankfurt, Fleischer, 1745]	Briefe, i, 388
Ferrand, Antoine. 'Oiseaux, si tous les ans' [poem set by W. A. Mozart in 1777–8]	K307
Frisch, Johann Leonhard. <i>Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch</i> , 2 vols. [Berlin, Nicolai, 1741]	Briefe, i, 5
Frosch, Johannes. <i>Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insignie</i> (Strasbourg, Schöffner, 1535) ¹⁰	Violinschule, 17 & 28
Gaffurius, Franchinus. <i>Theoria musicae</i> (Milan, Mantegatum, 1492)	Violinschule, 11
Gaffurius, Franchinus. <i>Practica musicae</i> [Venice, Zannis, 1512] ¹¹	Violinschule, 21
Galilei, Vincenzo. [title not identified]	Violinschule, 17
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfinn von G.</i> [Leipzig, Wendler, 1747–8]	Briefe, i, 237
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Lehrgedichte und Erzählungen</i> [Leipzig, Wendler, 1754]	Briefe, i, 14 & 237
Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott. <i>Fabeln und Erzählungen</i> [Leipzig, Wendler, 1748]	Briefe, i, 14
Glarean, Heinrich. <i>Dodekachordon</i> (Basel, Petri, 1547) ¹²	Briefe, i, 19; Violinschule, 17, 19, 21–3 & 28
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Ausführliche Redekunst</i> [Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1736]	Briefe, i, 14
Gottsched, Johann Christoph. <i>Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst</i> [Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1730]	Briefe, i, 14
Goudar, Ange. <i>Le procès des trois rois</i> [London, Carenaught, 1780]	Briefe, iii, 496
Goudar, Ange. <i>Rechtshandel der drey Könige</i> [s.l., s.n., 1782]	Briefe, iii, 496
Günther, Johann Christian. <i>Sammlung von bis anhero herausgegebenen Gedichten</i> [Wroclaw, Hubert, 1742] [includes three poems (<i>Die großmütige Gelassenheit</i> , <i>Geheime Liebe</i> and <i>Bey dem Abschiede</i>) set by L. Mozart]	LMV VI:2, 4 & 5
Henfling, Conrad. 'Epistola de novo suo systemate musico', <i>Miscellanea berolinensia</i> , ed. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (Berlin, Papen, 1710), 265–94	Violinschule, 17
Hermes, Johann Timotheus. <i>Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen</i> , 5 vols. [Leipzig, Junius, 1776] [volume 3 includes three poems (<i>Verdankt sei es dem Glanz</i> , <i>Sei du mein Trost</i> and <i>Ich würd' auf meinem Pfad</i>) set by W. A. Mozart]	K390–2
Kepler, Johannes. <i>Harmonice mundi libri V</i> [Linz, Plancus, 1619] ¹³	Briefe, i, 19; Violinschule, 17
Kircher, Athanasius. [title not identified]	Violinschule, 14 & 17

¹⁰ A copy of this edition is at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, F II 359].

¹¹ A copy of this edition was in the library of St. Peter and is now held at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, F II 475].

¹² A copy of this edition, which Leopold Mozart specifies, was and still is at the library of St. Peter [A-Ssp, FD 1 F 1].

¹³ A copy of this edition came to the university library in 1649 as part of the estate of Christoph Besold, who bought the book in 1625. The volume is still at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, 77945 II Rarum].

Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. <i>Der Messias</i> [Halle, Hemmerde, 1751–77]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 545
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb. ‘Edone’ [in a letter from 1780 Wolfgang Mozart paraphrases this ode, which is included in several popular literary anthologies between 1773 and 1780]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 548
La Motte, Antoine Houdar de. ‘Dans un bois solitaire’ [poem set by W. A. Mozart in 1777–8]	K308
Le Rouge, Georges-Louis. <i>Le parfait aide de camp</i> (Paris, Le Rouge, 1760)	<i>Hagenauer estate</i> ¹⁴
Lenz, Ludwig Friedrich. <i>Freimaeurer Lieder mit neuen Melodien</i> (Regensburg, s.n., 1772) [includes the poem <i>Auf die feierliche Johannisloge</i> set by W. A. Mozart]	K148
Loen, Johann Michael von. <i>Neue Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reise geschichten</i> , i & ii (Frankfurt, van Düren, 1748–9)	<i>Violinschule</i> , 11 & 12
Mamachi, Tommaso Maria. <i>Del diritto libero della chiesa d’acquistare e di possedere beni temporali</i> , 5 vols. (Rome, s.n., 1769–70)	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 391
Manzador, Pius. <i>Unterschiedliche Ehrenreden : mit vielen eingemengten heilsamen Sittenlehren, auch vorgesetztem Verzeichniß aller Predigen</i> , 2 vols. (Augsburg, Rieger, 1765)	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 253
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> , i (Berlin, Schütze, 1754–5)	<i>Violinschule</i> , preface; <i>Briefe</i> , viii, 48
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, [i] Schütze / [ii–iv] Lange, 1755–60)	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 374
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, Birnstiel, 1760–4)	1 st letter addressed to Leopold
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik</i> (Berlin, Lange, 1759)	<i>Violinschule</i> 2 nd edition, 17
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Critica musica</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Wiering, 1722–5) ¹⁵	<i>Violinschule</i> , 47
Mattheson, Johann. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19 & ii, 374; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Meibom, Marcus. <i>Antiquae musicae auctores septem</i> , 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Elzevirius, 1652)	<i>Violinschule</i> , 17 & 21
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph, ed. <i>Musikalische Bibliothek</i> (Leipzig, Mizler, 1739–54)	<i>Violinschule</i> 2 nd edition, 17
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Neidhardt, Johann Georg. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17 & 47
Praetorius, Michael. <i>Syntagma musicum</i> , 3 vols. [Wittenberg, [i] Richter / [ii–iii] Holwein, 1614–20] ¹⁶	<i>Violinschule</i> , 11
Printz, Wolfgang Caspar. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17

¹⁴ The book was transmitted as part of the estate of the Hagenauer family and might have belonged to Leopold Mozart before. See Cliff Eisen, ‘Ein neu entdecktes Mozart-Porträt?’, *Acta Mozartiana*, lv/1–2 (2008), 65.

¹⁵ Mattheson’s periodical is not cited expressly, but Georg Heinrich Bümler’s article on tuning was published in Mattheson’s journal. See ‘Bümler’ above.

¹⁶ A copy of this edition, which matches Leopold Mozart’s page references, was part of the university library and is still there today [A-Su, 39677 I].

Quantz, Johann Joachim. <i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i> (Berlin, Voß, 1752)	Briefe, i, 12, 19 & viii, 48; Violinschule, 17
Rabener, Gottlieb Wolfgang. <i>Sammlung satyrischer Schriften</i> , 4 vols. (Leipzig, Dyck, 1751–5)	Violinschule, preface
Rameau, Jean-Philippe. [title not identified]	Briefe, ii, 374
Reisch, Gregor. <i>Margarita philosophica : cum additionibus novis</i> (Basel, Furterius, 1508) ¹⁷	Violinschule, 10
Rousseau, Jean. <i>Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique</i> [Paris, Rousseau, 1683]	Violinschule, 257
Sauveur, Joseph. [title not identified]	Violinschule, 47
Scapula, Johannes. <i>Lexicon Graeco-Latinum novum</i> [Basel, Petri, 1615] ¹⁸	Violinschule, 18
Scheibe, Johann Adolph. [title not identified]	Briefe, i, 19 & ii, 374; Violinschule, 17
Shakespeare, William. <i>Merchant of Venice</i> [London, Witford, 1756]	Briefe, i, 200
Spiriti, Salvatore. <i>Mamachiana, per chi vuol divertirsi</i> (Naples, s.n., 1770)	Briefe, i, 391
Tartini, Giuseppe. <i>Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell'armonia</i> [Padova, Manfrè, 1754] ¹⁹	Violinschule, 236
Tevo, Zaccaria. <i>Il musico testore</i> (Venice, Bortoli, 1706)	Violinschule, 10–1, 13–4, 17 & 19
Tosi, Pier Francesco. <i>Anleitung zur Singkunst</i> , ed. Johann Friedrich Agricola (Berlin, Winter, 1757)	Briefe, ii, 374
Trenck, Franz von der. <i>Merkwürdiges Leben und Thaten des weltberühmten Herrn Francisci Frey-Herrns von der Trenck</i> (Frankfurt, s.n., 1748)	Briefe, iv, 26
Uz, Johann Peter. <i>Sämtliche poetische Werke</i> , i (Leipzig, Dyck, 1768)	text of song by Wolfgang (K53)
Vergil, Polydore. <i>De rerum inventoribus</i> (Leiden, Heger, 1644) ²⁰	Violinschule, 13 & 18
Vogt, Mauritius. <i>Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae</i> (Prague, Labaun, 1719)	Briefe, i, 19; Violinschule, 17
Voss, Johann Heinrich. <i>Musen Almanach für 1777</i> (Hamburg, Bohn, 1777) [includes Johann Martin Miller's poem <i>Die Zufriedenheit</i> set by W. A. Mozart]	K367
Wagenseil, Georg Christoph [?]. <i>Rudimenta panduristae oder Geig-Fundamenta</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1751)	Briefe, i, 14
Wagner, Franz. <i>Phraseologia Germanico-Latina</i> (Mainz, Varrentrapp, 1751)	Briefe, i, 5 & 14

¹⁷ A copy of this edition, which Leopold Mozart specifies, is at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, F I 212].

¹⁸ A copy of this edition was part of the university library from 1637 until 1790, when it was sold to the Benedictine monastery at Wessobrunn. It is now back at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, 77900 III].

¹⁹ Leopold Mozart cites passages from Tartini's work without acknowledgment of the author. For further information, see Irvine, 'Der belesene Kapellmeister : Leopold Mozart und seine Bibliotheken', 10.

²⁰ A copy of this edition was acquired for the court library in 1646 and is held today at the *Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg* [A-Su, 70051 I].

Walther, Johann Gottfried. <i>Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec</i> (Leipzig, Deer, 1732)	<i>Violinschule</i> , 17
Werckmeister, Andreas. [title not identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 17 & 47
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Die Abderiten – eine sehr wahrscheinliche Geschichte</i> [Bonn, Rommerskirchen, 1774]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 72 & iii, 502, 510, 514
Wieland, Christoph Martin. <i>Sympathien</i> [s.l., s.n., 1756]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 228
Young, Edward. <i>Klagen, oder Nachtgedanken</i> , trans. Johann Arnold Ebert, 5 vols. [Brunswick, Schröder, 1768–71]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 434
Zarlino, Gioseffo. <i>Institutioni et dimostrationi di musica : divise in quattro parti, & cinque ragionamenti</i> (Venice, Franceschi, 1602) ²¹	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 19; <i>Violinschule</i> , 13, 16–7, 21 & 27
Zimmermann, Johann Georg. <i>Über die Einsamkeit</i> , 4 vols. (Troppau, s.n., 1785–6)	excerpt in LM's hand ²²

Books known to the Mozarts – not identified

'a booklet [...], which is two fingers in thickness and in which all merchants are listed alphabetically including their addresses' [possibly this is: <i>A complete Guide to all Persons who have any trade or concern with the City of London, and parts adjacent</i> (London, s.n., 1763)]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 171
'a description of London, which appeared already in its seventh edition in 1750' [Leopold Mozart quotes several statistics about London from this description, which mostly match the statistics given in William Maitland, <i>The History and Survey of London</i> , 2 vols. (London, Osborne, 1756). Yet, there is no 'seventh edition' of this work from 1750]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 171

²¹ A copy of this rare edition, which Leopold specifies, is held at the library of St. Peter, Salzburg [A-Ssp, 2023].

²² The location of the original manuscript is unknown, but a photograph of this excerpt is at the *Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*.

Appendix J. Leopold Mozart's excerpt from Zimmermann's *Über die Einsamkeit*

Excerpt from Johann Georg Zimmermann's *Über die Einsamkeit* in Leopold Mozart's hand. The location of original is unknown, a photograph of this excerpt is at the *Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*. Leopold cites an extract from Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Über die Einsamkeit*, iii (Troppau, s.n., 1785–6), 46–7. Leopold's additions and changes to Zimmermann's text are given in *italics*, omissions from Zimmermann's text in Leopold's excerpt are included in square bracket [...]. All underlines are by Leopold and not in Zimmermann's original.

[page 1]

Eine merkwürdige Stelle aus Zimmermanns'

Schrift über die Einsamkeit (Th III S 46),

Wir träumten von nichts als Aufklärung –

[schrieb mir neulich einer der größten Männer Deutschlands]²³

– und glaubten durch das Licht der Vernunft die

Gegend so aufgehell[e]t zu haben, daß die Schwär-

mercy sich gewiß nicht mehr zeigen

werde. Allein [wie] wir sehen, *schon steigt*²⁴ von der

andern Seite des Horizonts die Nacht mit allen

ihren Gespenstern wieder empor. Mit Schrecken

sieht man, daß das Uebel so thätig und durch-

greifend ist, daß die Schwärmercy immer wirkt,

und die Vernunft nur spricht. Mit Unrecht glaub-

te Lord Shaftesbury, Witz und Laune seyen die

kräftigsten Gegenmittel wider den Fortgang

des schädlichen Aberglaubens. Blosser Scherz

vertreibt das Vorurtheil nur zum Scheine. Aus

Furcht, verspottet zu werden, sucht man höchstens

seine Albernheit zu verheimlichen. Man spottet

wohl selbst mit, wo dieser Ton herrschet; und

ist in seinem geheimsten Schlafgemache,

wie ich, Beyspiele gesehen, nichts destoweniger

Verführter oder verführender Schwermer.

²³ Zimmermann refers to the letter from Moses Mendelssohn, from which this quote is taken. Mendelssohn's letter is published in Moses Mendelssohn, *Briefwechsel III*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Stuttgart, 1977 = Moses Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften*, xiii), 221–3.

²⁴ Zimmermann reads: 'steiget schon'.

So, schreibt Zimmermann 1786, schilderte²⁵ mir ein
Mann, wie es in der Welt nicht viele giebt

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ganz neuerlich die Lage der Vernunft
in vielen sehr aufgeklärten Städten des
protestantischen Deutschlands. – *Ein*
Wort der Zeit, fiat applicatio.

²⁵ Zimmermann reads: 'beschrieb' instead of 'schilderte'.

Appendix K. Playlists of performances at the Salzburg theatre 1775 to 1777

Table (a) Karl Wahr and his troupe

The *Wahrsche Schauspielergesellschaft* gave 56 performances in Salzburg between 16 November 1775 and 20 February 1776. For each date of performance, the title and the original author and the arranger of the play are given. The third column 'Page' refers to the page of the *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg vom 18. Nov. 1775 bis zu Ende Febr. 1776* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1776), where the performance is documented.

Date	Author, Title [remarks]	Page
1775		
16 Nov	Christian Heinrich Schmid, <i>Essex oder die Gunst des Fürsten</i>	38
17 Nov	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Minna von Barnhelm</i>	42
19 Nov	Joseph Pelzel, <i>Die Hausplage</i>	51
20 Nov	Johann Rautenstrauch, <i>Der Jurist und Bauer</i>	51
22 Nov	Louis Sébastien Mercier, <i>Der Schubkarren des Essighändlers</i> [perhaps the arrangement by Heinrich Leopold Wagner]	54
24 Nov	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Clavigo</i> ²⁶	55
26 Nov	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Der Deserteur aus Kindesliebe</i>	76
27 Nov	Christian August Clodius, <i>Medon oder Die Rache des Weisen</i> ²⁷	76
29 Nov	Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, <i>Die unähnlichen Brüder oder Unglück prüft das Herz</i>	76
30 Nov	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Clavigo</i>	x ²⁸
1 Dec	William Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i> [in the edition by Franz von Heufeld]	83
3 Dec	Charles Collé, <i>Die Jagdlust Heinrich des Vierten</i> [translated by Christian Friedrich Schwan]	86
4 Dec	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Die Leiden des jungen Werther</i> [arranged as theatre play by Johann Christoph Seipp]	87
6 Dec	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Wölfe in der Herde oder Die beängstigten Liebhaber</i>	126
8 Dec	Christian Felix Weiße, <i>Richard der Dritte</i>	126
10 Dec	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Der Spleen oder einer hat zu viel, der andere hat zu wenig</i>	131
11 Dec	1) Edward Young, <i>Die Brüder</i> [translator not identified] 2) Johann Christian Bock, <i>Der Bettler</i>	132

²⁶ Only listed as 'Clavigo, a tragedy [...] after the true story by [...] Beaumarchais' in the performance calendar on page 55 of the *Theaterwochenblatt*, but reviews and comments on the play and the performance reveal that it was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's version of the plot. See *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg vom 18. Nov. 1775 bis zu Ende Febr. 1776* (Salzburg, Waisenhaus, 1776), 90, 106 & 136.

²⁷ Listed without author on page 76, Clodius is confirmed as the author of the play in a later discussion. See *Theaterwochenblatt für Salzburg*, 109.

²⁸ Not listed in the *Theaterwochenblatt*, but Joachim Ferdinand Schidenhofen states in his diary that 'today, the tragedy Clavigo was repeated'. See Angermüller, *Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen*, 108.

13 Dec	Denis Diderot, <i>Der Hausvater</i> [translated by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing]	132
15 Dec	Johann Edler von Sternschütz, <i>Karl der Fünfte in Afrika</i>	133
17 Dec	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Adelheid von Siegmar</i>	133
26 Dec	Voltaire, <i>Semiramis</i> [translated by Johann Friedrich Löwen]	175
27 Dec	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, <i>Der Kaufmann von Lyon oder die beyden Freunde</i> [translator not identified]	176
29 Dec	William Shakespeare, <i>Romeo und Julie</i> [arrangement by Christian Felix Weiße]	176
31 Dec	Christian Gottlob Stephanie, <i>Die neueste Frauenschule oder Was fesselt uns Männer?</i>	182
1776		
1 Jan	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Adelheid von Siegmar</i>	183
3 Jan	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Thamos, König von Ägypten</i>	209
5 Jan	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Emilia Galotti</i>	210
7 Jan	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Wölfe in der Herde oder Die beängstigten Liebhaber</i>	231
8 Jan	1) Charles-Georges Fenouillot de Quingey, <i>Die Tuchmacher von London</i> [probably the adaptation by Christoph Martin Wieland] 2) <i>Die junge Indianerin</i> [probably Sébastien Nicolas Chamfort, <i>La Jeune indienne</i> , trans. by Friedrich Ernst Jester]	231
10 Jan	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Kriegsgefangenen oder große Begebenheiten aus kleinen Ursachen</i>	231
12 Jan	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Miss Sara Sampson</i>	232
14 Jan	1) <i>Der Schneider und sein Sohn</i> [author not identified] 2) Christian Hieronymus Moll, <i>Donna Inez</i>	236–9
16 Jan	Christian Heinrich Schmid, <i>Essex oder die Gunst des Fürsten</i>	239
18 Jan	Jean-François Regnard, <i>Der Zerstreute</i> [translation not identified; performed with music by Joseph Haydn (Hob.I/60)]	241
19 Jan	Claude Joseph Dorat, <i>Zwo Königinnen oder Wettstreit weiblicher Freundschaft</i> [translated by Karl Michael von Pauersbach]	287
21 Jan	<i>Die Tugend im Bauernhause</i> [after Jean-François Marmontel, <i>Laurette</i>]	290
22 Jan	'a troupe of dancers and tightrope artists'	291
23 Jan	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Emilia Galotti</i>	303
25 Jan	Paul Weidmann, <i>Das befreyte Wien</i>	307
26 Jan	Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, <i>Orest und Elektra</i>	307
27 Jan	Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, <i>Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau</i>	307
30 Jan	Johann Christian Brandes, <i>Der Gasthof oder Trau, schau, wem!</i>	307
1 Feb	1) Franz Fuß, <i>Der Schneider und sein Sohn</i> 2) <i>Der Edelknabe</i> [author not identified]	307
2 Feb	William Shakespeare, <i>Macbeth</i> [adaptation by Johann Gottlieb Stephanie]	308
4 Feb	Franz von Heufeld, <i>Die Haushaltung nach der Mode</i>	308
5 Feb	<i>Die Menschlichkeit oder das Bild der Armuth</i> [not identified; given as charity event with the earnings going to the poor]	308
6 Feb	1) Michel Jean Sedaine, <i>Der Deserteur</i> [edited by Moritz von Brahm] 2) Johann Jakob Engel, <i>Der dankbare Sohn</i>	308
8 Feb	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Liebe für den König</i>	308
9 Feb	Joseph Valentin von Speckner, <i>William Buttler, Baronet von Yorkshire</i>	308

11 Feb	Elias Schlegel, <i>Der Triumph der guten Frauen</i>	309
12 Feb	William Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i> [arrangement by Franz von Heufeld]	326
13 Feb	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Der Minister</i>	327
14 Feb	Charles Simon Favart, <i>Die drei Sultaninen</i> [translation not identified]	328
15 Feb	Christian Heinrich Spieß, <i>Roxelane als Braut</i>	332
16 Feb	Christian Felix Weiße, <i>Mustapha und Zeangir</i>	333
18 Feb	Gustav Friedrich Großmann, <i>Die Feuersbrunst</i>	341
19 Feb	Richard Cumberland, <i>Der Westindier</i> [adaptation by Johann Friedrich Kepner]	341
20 Feb	1) Johann Christoph Engelmann [pseudonym: Kaffka], <i>Albert der Erste oder Adeline</i> 2) Yuriko von Pelz [author not identified]	342

Table (b) Wolfgang Rößl and his troupe

Wolfgang Rößl's theatre troupe gave twelve performances between 14 July and 5 August 1776. For each date of performance, author and title of the plays are given. The performances are documented in Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen's diary. See Hannelore and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., *Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen – Ein Freund der Mozarts* (Bad Honnef, 2006).

Date	Author, Title [remarks]
1776	
14 Jul	Paul Weidmann, <i>Der Stolze</i>
15 Jul	Philipp Johann Otterwolff von Niederstraten, <i>Die Grafen Hohenwald. Ein rührendes Originaldrama</i>
17 Jul	Joseph Gottwill Laudes, <i>Nicht alles ist Gold was glänzt</i>
19 Jul	Louis Sebastien Mercier, <i>Dürimel oder die Einquartierung der Franzosen</i> [translation not identified]
21 Jul	Paul Weidmann, <i>Der Schwätzer</i>
23 Jul	Karl Martin Plümicke, <i>Miß Jenny Warton</i>
25 Jul	1) Cornelius Ayrenhoff, <i>Der Postzug oder die noblen Passionen</i> 2) Freiherr F. G. von Nesselrode, <i>Julie oder Die dankbare Tochter</i>
26 Jul	Heinrich Ferdinand Möller, <i>Der Graf von Waltron oder Die Subordination</i>
28 Jul	Friedrich Wilhelm Wetzels, <i>Der Großmüthige</i>
31 Jul	Heinrich Ferdinand Möller, <i>Der Graf von Waltron oder Die Subordination</i>
4 Aug	Joseph Gottwill Laudes, <i>Nicht alles ist Gold was glänzt</i>
5 Aug	Paul Weidmann, <i>Die schöne Wienerin</i>

Table (c) Andreas Schopf, Theresia Schimann and their troupe

The *Schopfische Schauspielergesellschaft* performed on 47 nights between 31 March and 22 June 1777. For each date of performance, author and title of the plays are given. The performances are documented in Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen's diary. See Hannelore and Rudolph Angermüller, eds., *Joachim Ferdinand von Schidenhofen – Ein Freund der Mozarts* (Bad Honnef, 2006). The identification of the plays is based on Rudolph Angermüller, 'Theaterprinzipale in Salzburg in der Colloredo-Zeit (1775 bis 1803)', *Auf eigenem Terrain – Beiträge zur Salzburger Musikgeschichte*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Thomas Hochradner (Salzburg, 2004), 278–9.

Date	Author, Title [remarks]
1777	
31 Mar	1) Christian Heinrich Schmid, <i>Essex oder die Gunst des Fürsten</i> 2) <i>Die Liebe gilt vor alles</i> [ballet]
2 Apr	1) Johann Christian Brandes, <i>Der Graf von Olsbach oder Die Belohnung der Rechtschaffenheit</i> 2) <i>Die Liebe gilt vor alles</i> [ballet]
4 Apr	<i>Die Soldatenliebe</i> [after Goldoni]
6 Apr	<i>Die verliebten Zäncker</i> [after Goldoni]
7 Apr	Christian August Clodius, <i>Medon oder Die Rache des Weisen</i>
8 Apr	Moritz von Brahm, <i>Emilie oder Die glückliche Reue</i>
11 Apr	Christian Felix Weiße, <i>Richard der Dritte</i>
13 Apr	Philipp Hafner, <i>Der Furchtsame</i>
14 Apr	Franz Xaver von Gugler, <i>Sidnej und Silly</i>
16 Apr	1) <i>Die große Batterie</i> [not identified] 2) <i>Die junge Indianerin</i> [not identified]
18 Apr	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Emilia Galotti</i>
21 Apr	<i>Barnwell</i> [according to Angermüller: George Lillo, <i>Der Londoner Kaufmann oder Geschichte des George Barnwell</i> , trans. Carl Friedrich Schneider]
23 Apr	1) Otto Wolfgang Reichsgraf Schrattenbach, <i>Rensi</i> 2) <i>Das stolze Bauernmädchen</i> [ballet]
25 Apr	William Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i> [in the edition by Franz von Heufeld]
27 Apr	Michel Jean Sedaine, <i>Der Deserteur</i> [edited by Moritz von Brahm]
28 Apr	Johann Christian Brandes, <i>Die Mediceer</i>
30 Apr	<i>Der Schneider und sein Sohn</i> [not identified]
2 May	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Clementine oder das Testament</i>
4 May	Johann Christian Brandes, <i>Der Gasthof oder Trau, schau, wem!</i>
5 May	Franz Xaver von Gugler, <i>Sidnej und Silly</i>
7 May	Philipp Hafner, <i>Der Furchtsame</i>
9 May	Heinrich Leopold Wagner, <i>Die Reue nach der Tat</i>
11 May	1) Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Wirtschafterin oder der Tambour bezahlt alles</i> 2) <i>Der Abmarsch der Recrutten</i> [ballet]
12 May	Johann Christian Brandes, <i>Der Schein betrüget oder Der gute Ehemann</i>
14 May	Franz von Heufeld, <i>Der Geburtstag</i>
16 May	William Shakespeare, <i>Macbeth</i> [adaptation by Johann Gottlieb Stephanie]
19 May	Tobias Philipp von Gebler, <i>Der Minister</i>

20 May	Richard Sheridan, <i>Die Nebenbuhler</i> [translation by Johann Andreas Engelbrecht]
21 May	Johann Jakob Engel, <i>Der dankbare Sohn</i>
23 May	Heinrich Ferdinand Möller, <i>Der Graf von Waltron oder Die Subordination</i>
25 May	Heinrich Ferdinand Möller, <i>Der Graf von Waltron oder Die Subordination</i>
26 May	Johann Rautenstrauch, <i>Der Jurist und der Bauer</i>
28 May	Christian Lebrecht Martini, <i>Rhynsolt und Sapphira</i>
30 May	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die Kriegsgefangenen oder große Begebenheiten aus kleinen Ursachen</i>
1 June	1) Charles Collé, <i>Der Diamant</i> [translated by Johann Jakob Engel] 2) Johann Heinrich Faber, <i>Inkle und Yariko</i> 3) <i>Don Juan</i> [ballet]
2 June	François Thomas Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud, <i>Fayel</i> [translated by Christian Heinrich Schmid]
4 June	Friedrich Justin Bertuch, <i>Elfriede</i>
6 June	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Der Freygeist</i>
8 June	Philipp Johann Otterwolff von Niederstraten, <i>Der Freund der ganzen Welt</i>
9 June	Joseph Bernhard Pelzel, <i>Die bedrängten Waisen</i>
11 June	Freiherr F. G. von Nesselrode, <i>Der adelige Tagelöhner</i>
13 June	Christoph Friedrich Otto von Diericke, <i>Eduard Montrose</i>
15 June	Franz von Heufeld, <i>Der Liebhaber nach der Mode</i>
16 June	Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, <i>Die abgedankten Offiziere oder Standhaftigkeit und Verzweiflung</i>
18 June	Friedrich Justin Bertuch, <i>Elfriede</i>
20 June	'Gabriele von Monteveckio' [according to Angermüller: Karl Heinrich Seibt, <i>Gabriele von Montalto</i>]
22 June	Johann Heinrich Friedrich Müller, <i>Die unähnlichen Brüder oder Unglück prüfte das Herz</i>

Appendix L. North German music books and sheet music available in Salzburg

The following sales catalogues of book traders active in Salzburg have been analysed for the table below: Johann Jakob Lotter (1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773), Ulrich Haffner (c1760), Wolfgang Schwarzkopf (1766, 1771–6), Tobias Elias Lotter (1774, 1776, 1777), Joseph Wolff (1760, 1774–81), Johann Joseph Mayr (1781–4) and Eberhard Klett (1782, 1783).²⁹

Music books & instrumental treatises

Author. Title (place, publisher, year)	Source
Albrecht, Johann Lorenz. <i>Gründliche Einleitung in die Anfangslehren der Tonkunst</i> (Langensalza, Martini, 1761)	T. E. Lotter 1776
Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'. <i>Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst nach den Lehrsätzen des Herrn Rameau</i> , ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, [i] Henning / [ii] Winter, 1753–62)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Burney, Charles. <i>Abhandlung über die Musik der Alten</i> , trans. Johann Joachim Eschenburg (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1781)	Mayr, 1782
Buttstett, Johann Heinrich. <i>Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, tota musica et harmonia aeterna, oder Neu-eröffnetes altes, wahres, eintziges und ewiges Fundamentum Musices entgegengesetzt dem neu eröffneten Orchestre, und in zweene partes eingetheilet</i> (Erfurt, Werther, c1715)	Wolff 1779
Daube, Johann Friedrich. <i>General-Bass in drey Accorden</i> (Leipzig, Andrä, 1756)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek</i> , 2 vols. (Gotha, Ettinger, 1778)	Mayr 1782, 1783
Fritz, Barthold. <i>Anweisung, wie man Claviere, Clavecins und Orgeln, nach einer mechanischen Art, in allen zwölf Tönen gleich rein stimmen könne</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Fux, Johann Joseph. <i>Gradus ad parnassum oder Anführung zur regelmäßigen musikalischen Composition</i> , ed. Lorenz Christoph Mizler (Leipzig, Mizler, 1742)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Gresset, Jean-Baptiste Louis. <i>Die Harmonie</i> , trans. Adam Friedrich Wolff (Berlin, Voß, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1757, 1759
Heinichen, Johann David. <i>Der General-Bass in der Composition, oder neue und gründliche Anweisung, wie ein Music-Liebender [...] nicht allein den General-Bass vollkommen erlernen [...], sondern auch zu gleicher Zeit in der Composition selbst wichtige Profectus machen könne</i> (Dresden, Heinichen, 1728)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Hertel, Johann Wilhelm, ed. <i>Sammlung musikalischer Schriften, größtentheils aus den Werken der Italiäner und Franzosen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757–8)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Hiller, Johann Adam, ed. <i>Über die Musik und deren Wirkungen</i> (Leipzig, Jacobäer, 1781)	Klett 1782; Mayr 1784
Kausch, Johann Joseph. <i>Psychologische Abhandlung über den Einfluss der Toene und ins besondere der Musik auf die Seele</i> (Wroclaw, Korn, 1782)	Klett 1783

²⁹ Full bibliographical details of these catalogues are given at the end of the table.

Kellner, David. <i>Treulicher Unterricht im General-Baß</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1743)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1773
Kellner, David. <i>Treulicher Unterricht im General-Baß</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1767)	Mayr 1782
Kellner, David. <i>Treulicher Unterricht im General-Baß</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1782)	Mayr 1784
Kirnberger, Johann Philipp. <i>Anleitung zur Singekomposition</i> (Berlin, s.n., 1782)	Klett 1783
Kraus, Joseph Martin. <i>Etwas von und über Musik</i> (Frankfurt, Eichenberg, 1778)	Mayr 1782
<i>Kurze Anweisung zu den ersten Anfangsgründen der Musik [...] nebst Erklärung der vornehmsten musicalischen Kunst-Wörter</i> (Langensalza, Martini, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754
<i>'Lächerliches Quatuor, oder die 4. ungleiche Zuhörer bey der Music. Eine poetische Satyre'</i> (Berlin, s.n., 1753) [not identified]	J. J. Lotter 1757
Löhlein, Georg Simon. <i>Anweisung zum Violinspielen</i> (Leipzig, Frommann, 1774)	T. E. Lotter 1776; Mayr 1782
Löhlein, Georg Simon. <i>Clavier-Schule oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie</i> (Leipzig, Frommann, 1765)	J. J. Lotter 1773; T. E. Lotter 1776
Löhlein, Georg Simon. <i>Clavier-Schule</i> (Leipzig, Frommann, 1779)	Mayr 1783
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Abhandlung von der Fuge</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, Haude u. Spener, 1753–4)	J. J. Lotter 1754 [i], 1757, 1759
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757)	J. J. Lotter 1759, 1773
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönen Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäß entworfen</i> (Berlin, Haude u. Spener, 1755)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt, und zur Singkunst besonders</i> (Berlin, Wever, 1763)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen</i> (Berlin, Haude u. Spener, 1751)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition mit zwey- drey- vier- fünf- sechs- sieben- acht und mehreren Stimmen</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, [i] Schütze/ [ii–iii] Lange, 1755–58)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, [i] Schütze / [ii–iv] Lange, 1754–62)	J. J. Lotter 1754 [i], 1759; T. E. Lotter 1776
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm, ed. <i>Fugen-Sammlung. Erster Theil</i> (Berlin, Lange, 1758)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Das erläuterte Selah nebst einigen andern nützlichen Anmerkungen</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1745)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1713); <i>Das Beschützte Orchestre, oder desselben Zweyte Eröffnung</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1717); <i>Das forschende Orchestre, oder desselben Dritte Eröffnung</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1721)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, Das ist gründliche Anzeige aller derjenigen Sachen, die einer wissen, können, und vollkommen inne haben muß, der einer Capelle mit Ehren und Nutzen vorstehen will</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1739)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773

Mattheson, Johann. <i>Die neuangelegte Freuden-Akademie, zum lehrreichen Vorschmack unbeschreiblicher Herrlichkeit in der Veste göttlicher Macht</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Martini, 1751)	J. J. Lotter 1754
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele nebst beygefügter musikalischen Geschmacksprobe</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1744)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Grosse General-Baß-Schule oder der exemplarischen Organisten-Probe zweite, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage</i> (Hamburg, Kißner, 1731)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773; T. E. Lotter 1776
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Kern melodischer Wissenschaft, bestehend in den auserlesensten Haupt- und Grund-Lehren der musicalischen Satz-Kunst oder Composition, als ein Vorläuffer des Vollkommenen Capellmeisters</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1737)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773; T. E. Lotter 1776
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Kleine General-Baß-Schule</i> (Hamburg, Kißner, 1735)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1754, 1757, 1759
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Philologisches Tresenspiel, als ein kleiner Beytrag zur kritischen Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, vornehmlich aber, mittelst gescheuter Anwendung, in der Tonwissenschaft nützlich zu gebrauchen</i> (Hamburg, Martini, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1754
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Plus Ultra, ein Stückwerk von neuer und mancherley Art</i> , i (Hamburg, Martini, 1754)	J. J. Lotter 1754
Merbach, Georg Friedrich. <i>Clavierschule für Kinder</i> (Leipzig, Merbach, 1782)	Klett 1783
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph. <i>Anfangs-Gründe des General-Basses nach Mathematischer Lehrart und vermittelt einer hierzu erfundenen Maschine auf das deutlichste vorgetragen</i> (Leipzig, Mizler, 1739)	J. J. Lotter 1754
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph. <i>De natura syllogismi</i> (Leipzig, Langenheim, 1742)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph, ed. <i>Musikalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, Mizler, 1739–52)	J. J. Lotter 1748 [i], 1753, 1754 [i-ii], 1757, 1759
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph, ed. <i>Musikalischer Staarstecher</i> (Leipzig, Mizler, 1739–40)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Neidhardt, Johann Georg. <i>Gänzlich erschöpfte, mathematische Abtheilungen des diatonisch-chromatischen, temperirten canonis monochord</i> (Kaliningrad, Eckart, 1734)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754
Neidhardt, Johann Georg. <i>Sectio Canonis Harmonici zur völligen Richtigkeit der Generum Modulandi</i> (Kaliningrad, Eckart, 1724)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757
Nichelmann, Christoph. <i>Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen und nach ihren Eigenschaften</i> (Gdansk, Schuster, 1755)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759, 1773; T. E. Lotter 1776
Niedt, Friedrich Erhardt. <i>Musicalisches A B C zum Nutzen der Lehr- und Lernenden</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1708)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1757, 1759
Oelrichs, Johann Carl Conrad. <i>Historische Nachricht von den akademischen Würden in der Musik und öffentlichen musikalischen Akademien und Gesellschaften</i> (Berlin, Voß, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1757
Petri, Johann Samuel. <i>Anleitung zur practischen Musik</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1782)	Klett 1783
Quantz, Johann Joachim. <i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i> (Berlin, Voß, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1773

Quantz, Johann Joachim. <i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i> (Wroclaw, Korn, 1780)	Wolff 1780
Reichardt, Johann Friedrich. <i>Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend</i> , 2 vols. (Frankfurt, s.n., 1774–6)	Schwarzkopf 1776
Ribock, Justus Johannes Heinrich. <i>Bemerkungen über die Flöte, und Versuch einer kurzen Anleitung zur bessern Einrichtung und Behandlung derselben</i> (Stendal, Grosse, 1782)	Klett 1783
Riedt, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Versuch über die musikalische Intervallen, in Ansehung ihrer wahren Anzahl, ihres eigentlichen Sitzes und natürlichen Vorzugs in der Composition</i> (Berlin, Haude u. Spener, 1753)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759, 1773; T. E. Lotter 1776
Scheibe, Johann Adolph. <i>Abhandlung vom Ursprung und Alter der Musik, insonderheit der Vokalmusik</i> (Altona, Kort, 1754)	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1757, 1759
Scheibe, Johann Adolph. <i>Abhandlung von den Musicalischen Intervallen und Geschlechtern</i> (Hamburg, s.n., 1739)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Scheibe, Johann Adolph, ed. <i>Critischer Musikus</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1745)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Scheibe, Johann Adolph. <i>Über die musikalische Composition</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1773)	Schwarzkopf 1773
Schröter, Christoph Gottlob. <i>Deutliche Anweisung zum General-Baß, in beständiger Veränderung des uns angebornen harmonischen Dreiklanges</i> (Halberstadt, Groß, 1772)	Schwarzkopf 1772
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Ausführliche und deutliche Anweisung zur Rational-Rechnung, und der damit verknüpften Ausmessung und Abtheilung des Monochords</i> (Lobenstein, Sorge, 1749)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Ausweichungs-Tabellen, in welchen auf vierfache Art gezeigt wird, wie eine iede Tonart in ihre Neben-Tonarten ausweichen könne</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1753)	Haffner 1760
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Der in der Rechen- und Meßkunst wohlerfahrene Orgelbaumeister</i> (Lobenstein, Sorge, 1774)	T. E. Lotter 1774
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Gespräch zwischen einem Musico theoretico und einem Studioso musices von der Prätorianischen, Printzischen, Werckmeisterischen, Neidhardtischen, und Silbermannischen Temperatur wie auch von dem neuen Systemate Herrn Capellmeister Telemanns</i> (Lobenstein, Sorge, 1748)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Gründliche Untersuchung, ob die im 3. Th. des 3. Bds. der Mizlerischen Music. Bibliothek S. 457 et 580 befindliche Schröterische Clavier-Temperaturen für gleichschwebend passiren können oder nicht</i> (Lobenstein, s.n., 1754)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
‘Telemanns Lebensbeschreibung und Portrait’ [ambiguous – but in all likelihood two publications by Balthasar Schmid in Nuremberg: a portrait engraved by Georg Lichtensteger and an anonymous, bilingual biography in German and French] ³⁰	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1759
Tosi, Pier Francesco. <i>Anleitung zur Singkunst</i> , ed. Johann Friedrich Agricola (Berlin, Winter, 1757)	T. E. Lotter 1776
Walther, Johann Gottfried. <i>Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec</i> (Leipzig, Deer, 1732)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759

³⁰ Breitkopf advertises Schmid’s prints as ‘Telemanns, Georg Phil. Portrait und Lebensbeschreibung. Nürnberg. fol. a 4 gl’ in 1761 (see Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß Musicalischer Bücher*, ii (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1761). For a facsimile reprint of both items, see Wolf Hohobm, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann : Drucke aus dem Verlag Balthasar Schmid in Nürnberg* (Oschersleben, 1998), unpaginated [pages 5–10 on my count].

Werckmeister, Andreas. <i>Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgelprobe</i> (Quedlinburg, Calvisius, 1698)	Mayr 1782
Werckmeister, Andreas. <i>Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgelprobe</i> (Leipzig, Teubner, 1754)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Werckmeister, Andreas. <i>Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse, oder ungemeine Vorstellungen, wie die Musica einen hohen und göttlichen Uhrsprung habe</i> (Quedlinburg, Calvisius, 1707)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Wiedeburg, Michael Johann Friedrich. <i>Der sich selbst informirende Clavierspieler, oder deutlicher und leichter Unterricht zur Selbstinformation im Clavierspielen</i> , 3 vols. (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1765–75)	T. E. Lotter 1776

Sheet music

Composer. Work (place, publisher, year)	Source
Abel, Carl Friedrich. <i>Sei sonate a tre, due violini overo flauto traverso, violino e basso</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1762)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>Sei sinfonie a quattro</i> , op.1 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1773; Haffner 1760
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>Sei sonate per il cembalo solo, accompagnate da alcune Ariette, Polonesi, Minuetti, &c.</i> , op.2 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1748)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773 Haffner 1760
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>Sonate a violino solo e cembalo o violoncello</i> (Nuremberg, Riegel, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>Sonates pour le clavessin accompagnez de quelques petites aires, polonoisses et menuettes</i> (Nuremberg, Riegel, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>III Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , op.3 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1751)	J. J. Lotter 1759, 1773; Haffner 1760
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>III Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , op.4 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1753)	Haffner 1760; J. J. Lotter 1773
Agthe, Karl Christian. <i>Lieder eines leichten und fließenden Gesangs für das Clavier</i> (Dessau, Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, 1782)	Mayr 1784
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in D, Wq11; H414 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. 'Concerto per il Cembalo, 2 Violini, Violetta, & Basso, fol.' [ambiguous: either as above <i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in D, Wq11; H414 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745); or <i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in B ^b , Wq25; H429 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1754) ³¹]	J. J. Lotter 1754, 1757, 1759
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefüger Fingersetzung für Anfänger</i> , Wq113; H193–203 (Augsburg, Lotter, 1768)	J. J. Lotter 1773

³¹ The print is dated '1754' according to: Horst Heussner, 'Der Musikdrucker Balthasar Schmid in Nürnberg', *Die Musikforschung*, xvi/4 (1963), 358.

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. 'VI Sonate per Cembalo' [ambiguous – probably <i>Sei sonate per cembalo, che all'Augusta Maesta di Frederico II, Re di Prussia</i> , Wq48; H24–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1742), as the 'Württemberg sonatas' (Wq49; H30–4, 36) are designated as 'opera II' in all of Lotter's surviving sales catalogues from 1753 to 1773.]	J. J. Lotter 1748
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. 'VI. Sonatae per Cembalo, auf Regal-Papier' [ambiguous – probably <i>Sei sonate per cembalo, che all'Augusta Maesta di Frederico II, Re di Prussia</i> , Wq48; H24–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1742), as the 'Württemberg sonatas' (Wq49; H30–4, 36) are listed separately just below in the same catalogue and designated as 'opera II'.]	J. J. Lotter 1753
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Sei sonate per il cembalo, dedicate all'Altezza Serenissima di Carlo Eugenio, Duca di Wirtemberg e Teckh</i> , op.2, Wq49; H30–4, 36 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1744)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773; Haffner 1760
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Sonata à due violini e basso</i> , Wq158; H584 [published as part of <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763), 159–71]	T. E. Lotter 1776
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Sonata per flauto traverso solo senza basso</i> , Wq132; H562 (Berlin, Winter, 1764) [also published as part of <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763), 179–83] ³²	T. E. Lotter 1776
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Zwey Trio, das erste für zwo Violinen und Bass, das zweyte für 1 Querflöte, 1 Violine und Bass, bey welchen beyden aber die eine von den Oberstimmen auch auf dem Flügel gespielt werden kann</i> , Wq161; H578–9 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1751)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759, 1773
'Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel'. 'VI. Sonates nouveaux per Cembalo' (Nuremberg, s.n., 1751) [published under C. P. E. Bach's name, but not authentic] ³³	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich. <i>Concerto per il clavicembalo</i> , in E ^b , BR-JCFB C29 (Riga, Hartknoch, c1776)	T. E. Lotter 1776; Wolff 1776
Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich. <i>Concerto II. per il clavicembalo</i> , in A, BR-JCFB C30a (Riga, Hartknoch, c1776)	T. E. Lotter 1776; Wolff 1776
Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich. <i>Die Amerikanerin, ein lyrisches Gemählde vom Herrn von Gerstenberg in Musik gesetzt</i> , BR-JCFB G47a (Riga, Hartknoch, 1776)	T. E. Lotter 1776; Wolff 1776
Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich. <i>Sechs Sonaten für das Clavier mit Begleitung einer Flöte oder Violine</i> , BR-JCFB B15–20 (Riga, Hartknoch, 1777)	Wolff 1777
Bach, Johann Ernst. <i>Sammlung auserlesener Fabeln mit darzu verfertigten Melodeyen</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1749)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1773; Haffner 1760

³² This separate print of the sonata is also advertised by Breitkopf in his non-thematic catalogue from 1770. See Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Bücher*, iv (Leipzig, 1770), 114.

³³ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach himself complains about this publication in the first part of his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, after having seen the advertisement in 'Lotter's catalogue of all musical books of this year [i.e. 1753]' (see Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, i (Berlin, Henning, 1753), 62). Josef Mancal assumes that this is a publication by Ulrich Haffner, but Haffner himself does not advertise the set in his catalogue of c1760 (see Josef Mancal, 'Zum Augsburger, Druck-, Verlags- und Handelswesen im Musikalienbereich am ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert', *Augsburger Buchdruck & Verlagswesen*, eds. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden, 1997), 895).

Benda, Georg. <i>Ariadne auf Naxos, ein Duodrama</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, c1781) [full score]	Mayr 1784
Benda, Georg, ed. <i>Canzonette fürs Klavier: von einer Liebhaberin der Musik, mit Veränderungen von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern</i> (Gotha, Ettinger, 1781)	Mayr 1781
Benda, Georg. <i>Collezione di arie italiane. Sammlung italiänischer Arien, mit unterlegten Clavierauszuge</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1782)	Klett 1783
Benda, Georg. <i>Der Dorfjahrmak, eine komische Oper in zwey Akten</i> (Leipzig, Dyck, 1776) [keyboard reduction by Johann Adam Hiller]	T. E. Lotter 1776
Benda, Georg. <i>Der Holzhauer, oder Die drey Wünsche. Eine comische Operette im Clavierauszuge, mit Begleitung einiger Instrumente</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1778) [keyboard reduction / score]	Mayr 1781, 1784
Benda, Georg. <i>Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke für geübte und ungeübte Spieler, iii</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1781)	Klett 1783
Berger, Traugott Benjamin. <i>Liederchen und Gedichte</i> (Leipzig, s.n., 1777)	Wolff 1777
Burmann, Gottlob Wilhelm. <i>Kleine Lieder für kleine Mädchen</i> (Amsterdam, s.n., 1775)	Wolff 1774; Wolff 1777
Buttstett, Johann Heinrich. <i>Musicalische Clavier-Kunst und Vorraths-Kammer</i> (Leipzig, Kloss, 1713)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Buttstett, Johann Heinrich. <i>Opera prima sacra, bestehend aus 4 neukomponierten Messen</i> (Erfurt, Weinmann, 1720) [lost]	J. J. Lotter 1748; Wolff 1779
Claudius, Georg Carl. <i>Lieder für Kinder mit neuen sehr leichten Melodien</i> (Frankfurt, Brönnner, 1780)	Mayr 1782
Daube, Johann Friedrich. <i>Six sonates pour le lut, dans le goût modern, op.1</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Doles, Johann Friedrich. <i>Neue Lieder nebst ihren Melodien</i> (Leipzig, Dyck, 1750)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Dressler, Ernst Christoph. <i>Melodische Lieder für das schöne Geschlecht</i> (Frankfurt, Hauelsen, 1771)	T. E. Lotter 1774
Eisel, Johann Philipp. <i>Sei allettamenti a violino solo col cembalo</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1740)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Fleischer, Friedrich Gottlob. <i>Cantaten zum Scherz und Vergnügen, nebst einigen Oden und Liedern für das Clavier</i> (Brunswick, Schröder, 1763)	T. E. Lotter 1776
Fleischer, Friedrich Gottlob. <i>Sei sonate per camera à II. violini e basso</i> (Brunswick, Schröder, 1763)	T. E. Lotter 1776
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Sechs Claviersonaten</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1778)	Mayr 1782
Förster, Christoph. <i>Sei sinfonie à due violini, viola, cembalo è violoncello, con ripieni di diversi stromenti</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1747)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1757, 1759
Fricke, Elias Christian. <i>Neue Sammlung englischer Tänze, mit abwechselndem Accompagnement von Flöten, Hörnern, Hoboen, Trompeten und Paucken für das Jahr 1776</i> (Lübeck, Iversen, 1776)	Mayr 1782
Friedrich II., King of Prussia. <i>Sinfonia a II violini, II flauti traverse, II oboi, II corni di caccia, violetta e basso</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1743)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Gellerts (Herrn Professor) <i>Oden und Lieder nebst einigen Fabeln, größtentheils aus den Belustigungen des Verstandes und Witzes. Auf das Clavier in die Musik gesetzt von Berlinischen Tonkünstlern</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1759)	Haffner 1760
Görner, Johann Valentin. <i>Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder, 2 vols.</i> (Hamburg, Bohn, 1742–4)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757

Gräfe, Johann Friedrich, ed. <i>Samlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden zu welchen von den berühmtesten Meistern in der Music eigene Melodeyen verfertigt worden</i> , 4 vols. (Halle, Gräfe, 1737–43)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Gräfe, Johann Friedrich, ed. <i>Oden und Schäfergedichte</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1744)	J. J. Lotter 1759, 1773
Gruner, Nathanael Gottfried. <i>Sechs Sonaten für das Klavier</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1781)	Klett 1782
Haffner, Johann Ulrich, ed. <i>Collection recreative, contenant VI sonates pour le clavessin</i> , 2 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1760–1)	Haffner 1760; J. J. Lotter 1773
Haffner, Johann Ulrich, ed. <i>Oeuvres mêlées, contenant VI sonates pour le clavessin, de tant de plus celebres compositeurs</i> , 12 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1755–66)	J. J. Lotter 1757 [i–ii] ³⁴ , 1759 [i–iv] ³⁵ , 1773; Haffner 1760 [i–vii];
Haffner, Johann Ulrich, ed. <i>Opere scielte d'alcune sonate ed altri pezzi di galanteria per il cembalo solo, dei compositori tedeschi ed italiani</i> , op.1 (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1756) ³⁶	Haffner 1760
Händel, Georg Friedrich. <i>Capriccio pour le clavecin</i> , HWV481 (Amsterdam, Witvogel, 1732)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754
Händel, Georg Friedrich. <i>Prelude et chacoone avec LXII variations</i> , HWV442 (Amsterdam, Witvogel, 1732)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Händel, Georg Friedrich. <i>Te Deum laudamus, zur Utrechter Friedensfeyer ehemals in Engländischer Sprache componirt, und nun mit dem bekannten lateinischen Text</i> , ed. Johann Adam Hiller (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1780)	Mayr 1784
Heinicke, Johann Emanuel. <i>Six mourqui pour le clavessin</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1748)	Haffner 1760
Herbing, August Bernhard Valentin. <i>Musicalische Belustigungen, in dreyßig scherzenden Liedern</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1765)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Hertel, Johann Wilhelm. <i>Johann Friedrich Löwens Oden und Lieder, in Musik gesetzt</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1757)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Hertel, Johann Wilhelm. <i>Musik zu vier und zwanzig neuen Oden und Liedern aus der Feder des Herrn Johann Friedrich Löwen</i> (Rostock, Kopp, 1760)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Hertel, Johann Wilhelm. <i>Sei sonate per il cembalo solo</i> , op.1 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1756)	J. J. Lotter 1759, Haffner 1760
Hiller, Johann Adam. <i>Cantaten und Arien verschiedener Dichter in Musik gesetzt</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1781)	Klett 1782
Hiller, Johann Adam. <i>Lieder mit Melodien</i> (Leipzig, Junius, 1772)	Schwarzkopf 1772
Hiller, Johann Adam. <i>Poltis, oder das gerettete Troja, eine Operette in drey Akten</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1783) [piano reduction]	Klett 1783

³⁴ It remains unclear, if Lotter sold both volumes or just one.

³⁵ It remains unclear, if Lotter sold all available volumes or just some of them.

³⁶ Contains five anonymous sonatas, one anonymous suite, a 'Sonata' consisting of a prelude and fugue possibly by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, but also ascribed to Johann Christian Bach, and the anonymous *Arietta con XI Variazioni*, which also features in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Musikalisches Allerley* (Wq118/2) and in the so-called *Nannerl Notenbuch* (No.39). See Ulrich Leisinger, ed., *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach – The complete Works, Variations*, series 1, vol. 7, 107–8; and Ulrich Leisinger, 'Noch einmal die Arietta variata / Carl Fasch und die Berliner Pasticcio Variationen', *Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736 – 1800) und das Berliner Musikleben seiner Zeit*, ed. Konstanze Musketa (Dessau, 1999), 114–29.

Hoffmann, Johann Georg. <i>Six murki pour le clavessin</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1747)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Hunger, Gottlob Gottwald. <i>Lieder für Kinder mit neuen Melodien</i> (Leipzig, Weidmann, 1772)	Schwarzkopf 1772
Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich. <i>Due cantate a voce solo, e basso continuo</i> (Amsterdam, Witvogel, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich. <i>Fuga pour le clavecin</i> (Amsterdam, Witvogel, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753
Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich. <i>Opere scelte per il clavicembalo</i> (Amsterdam, Witvogel, c1733)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Keiser, Reinhard. <i>Musicalische Land-Lust, bestehend in verschiedenen moralischen Cantaten</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1714)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Kellner, David. <i>XVI auserlesene Lauten-Stücke</i> (Hamburg, Brandt, 1747)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Kellner, Johann Peter. <i>Certamen musicum, Bestehend aus Präludien, Fugen, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Giquen wie auch Menuetten u. d. g. denen Clavier-Liebenden zur zeit-kürtzenden Belustigung verfertigt</i> , 6 vols. (Arnstadt, Beumelburg, 1739–49)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Kellner, Johann Peter. <i>Manipulus musices, oder Eine Hand voll Kurzweiliger Zeitvertreib vors Clavier</i> , 4 vols. (Arnstadt, Beumelburg, 1752–6)	J. J. Lotter 1753 [i], 1754 [i-ii], 1757 [iii-iv], 1759
Kirnberger, Johann Philipp. <i>Oden mit Melodien</i> (Wroclaw, Floercke, 1773)	Mayr 1782
Kirnberger, Johann Philipp. <i>Sonate pour la flute traversiere</i> (Berlin, Wever, 1767)	T. E. Lotter 1776
Kirnberger, Johann Philipp. <i>Sonate II. pour la flute traversiere</i> (Berlin, Wever, c1767)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Krebs, Johann Ludwig. <i>Clavier-Übung, bestehet in einer nach den heutigen Gout wohl eingerichteten Suite</i> , vol.2 (Nuremberg, Haffner, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Krebs, Johann Ludwig. <i>Clavier-Übung, bestehend in sechs Sonatinen</i> , vol.3 (Nuremberg, Haffner, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Krebs, Johann Ludwig. <i>Exercise pour le clavessin</i> , op.4 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Krebs, Johann Ludwig. <i>Musicalischer und angenehmer Zeitvertreib bestehet in zwey Sonaten vor das obligate Clavessin nebst der Traversiere oder Violine</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1752)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Krebs, Johann Ludwig. <i>VI trio a flauto traverso I, flauto traverso II o violino, e cembalo</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1743)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Lichtensteiger, Giovanni Ernesto. <i>Due sonate per il cembalo</i> , op.1 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
<i>Lieder eines Mädchens bey dem Singen und Claviere</i> (Münster, Perrenon, 1775)	T. E. Lotter 1776; Mayr 1782

<i>Lieder mit neuen Melodien</i> (Ansbach, Posch, 1756)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Lucchesini, Giacomo. <i>Concerto à flauto traverso concertato, viol. I, viol. II, viola é basso</i> (Leipzig, Mizler, 1741) [with preface by Lorenz Mizler] ³⁷	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Neue Lieder zum Singen beym Clavier</i> (Berlin, Lange, 1756)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Der brauchbare Virtuoso</i> (Hamburg, Schiller, 1720)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Die wol-klingende Finger-Sprache, in zwölf Fugen, mit zwey bis drey Subjecten</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Mattheson, 1735–7)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Les doigts parlans en douze fugues double</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1749)	J. J. Lotter 1753; Haffner 1760
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Odeon morale, jucundum et vitale. Sittliche Gesänge, angenehme Klänge, gut zur Lebenslänge, Text und Ton von Mattheson</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1751)	Haffner 1760
Mattheson, Johann. <i>Sonate pour le clavecin</i> (Hamburg, Mattheson, 1713)	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759
Mente, Johann Gottfried. <i>Suite für die Gambe und General-Bass</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1759)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Mizler, Lorenz Christoph, ed. <i>Sammlungen auserlesener moralischer Oden</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig, Mizler, 1740–3)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757
Müller, Christian Heinrich. <i>Drey Sonaten fürs Clavier, als Doppelstücke für zwey Personen mit vier Händen</i> (Berlin, Birnstiel, 1782)	Mayr 1784
Müller, Gottlieb Friedrich. <i>Six sonates pour le clavecin</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1762)	J. J. Lotter 1773
<i>Musicalischer Zeitvertreib, welchen man sich bey vergönten Stunden, auf dem beliebten Clavier, durch Singen und Spielen auserlesener Oden vergnüglich machen kan</i> , 3 vols. (Frankfurt, s.n., 1743–51) ³⁸	J. J. Lotter 1753
Müthel, Johann Gottfried. <i>III sonates & II ariosi avec XII variations pour le clavessin</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1756)	Haffner 1760; J. J. Lotter 1773
Nauert, Gottfried Eusebius. <i>Oden und Lieder zum Singen bey dem Clavier</i> , 2 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1758)	Haffner 1760; J. J. Lotter 1773
Neefe, Christian Gottlob. <i>Lieder mit Klaviermelodien</i> (Glogau, Günther, 1776)	Schwarzkopf 1776
<i>Neue Melodien für das Clavier und zum Singen, wozu die Texte aus den Bremischen Beyträgen und der Sammlung vermischter Schriften genommen worden</i> (Leipzig, Teubner, 1756) [lost] ³⁹	J. J. Lotter 1757, 1759

³⁷ Giacomo Lucchesini was a patron of Mizler and founding member of the *Korrespondierende Sozietät der Musicalischen Wissenschaften*. Printed parts of this concerto, yet without the title page and without the preface by Mizler, are held at the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden* [D-Dl, Mus.3001.O.1.a]. The publication date, place and publisher are documented in Mizler's journal *Musikalische Bibliothek*, ii/3 (Leipzig, Mizler, 1742), 175. See also Lutz Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof: Schüler Bachs und pythagoreischer "Apostel der wolffischen Philosophie"* (Hildesheim, 2012), 276–7. Lotter listed this concerto in both sales catalogues also under the name of Mizler.

³⁸ Lotter's sales catalogue states 'Nürnberg' as place: either this is a mistake or a pirated, now lost, edition was printed by one of the Nuremberg publishers containing the whole collection or just parts of it. The sales catalogue precisely states the full title of the publication, as it is found on the volumes published in Frankfurt.

³⁹ Review in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, i (Berlin, Birnstiel, 1760), 245.

Nichelmann, Christoph. <i>Sei brevi sonate da cembalo massime all'uso delle dame</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753
Nichelmann, Christoph. <i>Brevi sonate da cembalo all'uso di chi ama il cembalo massime delle dame, op.2</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753
Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista. <i>Johann Baptist Pergolese vollständige Passionsmusik zum Stabat mater, mit der Klopstockischen Parodie; in der Harmonie, verbessert, mit Oboen und Flöten verstärkt, und auf vier Singstimmen gebracht</i> , ed. Johann Adam Hiller (Leipzig, Dyck, 1776)	Schwarzkopf 1776
Quantz, Johann Joachim. <i>Sei sonate a flauto traversa solo e basse continuo, op.1</i> (Amsterdam, Witvogel, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Quantz, Johann Joachim. <i>Sei sonate a flauto traversa solo e basse continuo, op.2</i> (Amsterdam, Witvogel, s.d.)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Quantz, Johann Joachim. 'VI. Sonate à Flauto solo, é Basso continuo, No. VIII.' (Amsterdam, s.n., s.d.) [not identified]	J. J. Lotter 1753
Pässler, Emanuel Johann Gottfried. <i>Sechs Sonaten für das Klavier oder die Harfe</i> (Bernburg, Pässler, 1782)	Mayr 1784
Paulsen, Peter. <i>Der spiel- und singende Clavierschüler, in einigen vermischten Liedern vorgestellt</i> (Flensburg, Korte, 1762)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Preu, Friedrich. <i>Lieder fürs Klavier</i> (Leipzig, Jacobäer, 1781)	Klett 1782
Reichardt, Johann Friedrich. <i>Lieder für Kinder, aus Campes Kinderbibliothek mit Melodien, bey dem Klavier zu singen</i> , 2 vols. (Hamburg, Herold, 1781)	Klett 1782
Ritter, Johann Christoph. <i>Drei Sonaten, denen Liebhabern des Claviers verfertigt</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1751)	Haffner 1760
Rosenbaum, Christian Ernst. <i>Scherzhafte Lieder mit Melodien</i> , 2 vols. (Altona, Iversen, 1760–2)	J. J. Lotter 1773
Roth, Wilhelm August Traugott. <i>Lieder aus der Wochenschrift Der Freund</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1757)	J. J. Lotter 1759
Schaffrath, Christoph. <i>Sei duetti a cembalo obligato e violino ò flauto traverso concertato, op.1</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1773; Haffner 1760
Schaffrath, Christoph. <i>Six sonates pour le clavessin, op.2</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1749)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Scheibe, Johann Adolph. <i>Tre sonate per il cembalo obligato, e flauto traverso ò violino concertato, op.1</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1760)	Haffner 1760
Scheidler, Johann David. <i>Sammlung kleiner Klavierstücke für Liebhaber</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1781)	Klett 1782
Schemelli, Georg Christian. <i>Musicalisches Gesang-Buch, darinnen 954 geistreiche, sowohl alte als neue Lieder und Arien, mit wohlgesetzten Melodien, in Discant und Baß, befindlich sind</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1736)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Schieferdecker, Johann Christian. <i>Zwölf musikalische Concerte, bestehend in auserlesenen Ouverturen nebst einigen schönen Suiten und Sonaten</i> (Hamburg, Hertel, 1715)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Scholze, Johann Sigismund. <i>Sperontes Singende Muse an der Pleisse in 2 mahl 50 Oden derer neuesten und besten musicalischen Stücke, mit denen darzu gehörigen Melodien zu beliebter Clavier-Übung und Gemüths-Ergötzung</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, s.n., 1747)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Schulz, Johann Abraham Peter. <i>Lieder im Volkston, bey dem Claviere zu singen</i> (Berlin, Decker, 1782)	Klett 1783

Schweitzer, Anton. <i>Alceste von Wieland und Schweitzer</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1774) [piano reduction / score]	Mayr 1781
Simon, Johann Caspar. <i>Erster Versuch, einiger variirt- und fugirter Choräle</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1754)	Haffner 1760
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Clavier-Übung bestehend in sechs nach Italiaenischen Gusto gesetzten Sonatinen</i> , 3 vols. (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1738–c45)	Lotter 1757 [i–ii], 1759 [i–ii]
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Clavier-Übung in sich haltend das I. und II. halbe Dutzend von 24. melodieusen, vollstimmigen und nach modernen Gusto durch den gantzen Circulum Modorum Musicorum gesetzten Praeludiis</i> , 2 vols. (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1739–42)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Erste Lieferung von XII Sonaten vor die Orgel und das Clavier im neuern Styl gesetzt</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745) [contains 3 sonatas]	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Sonatinen Fantasien Toccatinen und Sinfonien vors Clavier im neuern Styl</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1750)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Vier und zwanzig kurtze Praeludia zum nützlichen Gebrauch kleiner Clavier Schüler</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1746)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Wohl-gewürzte Klang-Speisen vor musikalische Gemüther in VI Clavier-Partien</i> (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1745)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Sorge, Georg Andreas. <i>Zwölf Menuetten, welche sich 1) auf dem Clavier, 2) auf der Flauto Traverso, und 3) auf der Violin mit Accompagnement eines Violoncello oder General-Basses spielen lassen</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid [?], 1742)	J. J. Lotter 1748
Sorge, Georg Andreas. ‘Circul-Aria welche, wenn selbige 6. mal gespielet wird, auf eine neue Art durch alle 24. Ton-Arten gehet. Zur Übung im Clavier, General-Baß und Violine.’ [not identified]	J. J. Lotter 1757
Telemann, Georg Philipp. <i>Music vom Leiden und Sterben des Welt Erlösers, bestehend aus Chören, Choralen, Arien, Cavaten und Recitativen, in vier Singestimmen und für mancherley Instrumente also abgefasset, daß auch eine einzelne Person sich selbige beym Claviere zu nutze machen kann</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1745)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Telemann, Georg Philipp. <i>Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden mit leichten fast für alle Hälse bequemen Melodien</i> (Hamburg, Herold, 1741)	J. J. Lotter 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Das vergnügte Ohr und der erquickte Geist, in sechs Galanterie-Parthien zur Clavier-Übung für das Frauenzimmer, in einer leichten und applicablen Composition dargestellt</i> , 3 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746–8)	J. J. Lotter 1748 [i–ii], 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Der anmuthigen Clavier-Früchte Erste [Zweyte] Sammlung, bestehend in VI Kleinen Suiten, zum Dienst derer Anfänger des Claviers, absonderlich der Kinder so noch keine Octave zu greiffen vermögen</i> , 2 vols. (Nuremberg, Windter, c1740 [?])	J. J. Lotter 1748
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Divertissement musical, contenant III Suites pour le clavessin</i> , 2 vols., op.1 & 2 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1745)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Divertissement musical, contenant VI Suites pour le clavessin</i> , op.3 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1751)	Haffner 1760

Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Musicalische Zwillinge in zwey Concerten eines Thons</i> , 7 vols. (Nuremberg, Schmid, c1747–55)	J. J. Lotter 1748 [i-ii], 1753 [i-v], 1754 [i-vi], 1757, 1759
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Sechs leichte und dabey angenehme Clavier-Parthien, jungen Anfängern zur Übung aufgesetzt</i> , 5 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1746–53)	[i-iv only:] J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759; Haffner 1760
Über, Christian Benjamin. <i>Clarisse oder das unbekannte Dienstmädchen, eine comische Oper in drey aufzügen, und eine Ode aus der Geschichte der Miß Fanny Wilkes: Dir folgen meine Thränen, in Musik gesetzt</i> (Wroclaw, Meyer, 1772) [keyboard reduction]	Schwarzkopf 1772
Vetter, Daniel. <i>Musicalische Kirch- und Hauß-Ergötzlichkeit</i> , 2 vols. (Dresden, Zimmermann, 1713–6)	J. J. Lotter 1753
Walther, Johann Gottfried. <i>Monumentum musicum concertam repraesentans</i> (Augsburg, Leopold, 1741)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Walther, Johann Gottfried. <i>Preludio con fuga</i> , in G (Augsburg, Leopold, 1741)	J. J. Lotter 1748, 1753, 1754, 1757, 1759
Weiss, Friedrich Wilhelm. <i>Lieder mit Melodien</i> (Lübeck, Iversen, 1775)	Schwarzkopf 1775; Mayr 1782
Wolf, Ernst Wilhelm. <i>Concerto I. per il cembalo concertato</i> , in a (Riga, Hartknoch, 1777)	Wolff 1777
Wolf, Ernst Wilhelm. <i>Concerto II. per il cembalo concertato</i> , in C (Riga, Hartknoch, 1777)	Wolff 1777
Wolf, Ernst Wilhelm. <i>Die treuen Köhler, eine Operette in zween Aufzügen</i> (Weimar, Hoffmann, 1774) [keyboard reduction]	Schwarzkopf 1773
Wolf, Ernst Wilhelm. <i>Sechs Sonaten für das Clavier</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1781)	Klett 1782
<i>Zwölf Kindersonaten mit Liedern nach Graunischen Melodien</i> (Berlin, Hesse, 1782)	Klett 1783

Bibliographical details and locations of the sales catalogues consulted

- Haffner 1760:** *Verzeichniß derjenigen Musikalien, welche bey Johann Ulrich Haffner, Lautenisten in Nürnberg, in der breiten Gasse, im wilden Mann wohnend, zu haben sind.* [c1760]
Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg [D-ERu, H00/MUS.A-I 482]
- Klett 1782, 1783:** *Verzeichniß derjenigen neuen Bücher, welche größtentheils in der letzten Frankfurter und Leipziger Michaelismesse vorigen Jahres herausgekommen, und nebst vielen andern in beygesetzten billigen Preisen zu haben sind bey Eberhard Kletts sel. Wittwe und Frank, Buchhändler in Augsburg, wie auch in den Märkten zu Passau, Linz und Salzburg.* 1782 [1783].
Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg [D-As, Aug 3140-12] and [D-As, Aug 3140-14]
- J. J. Lotter 1748:** *Libri musici oder Verzeichniß derer Musicalischen Bücher, welche bey Johann Jacob Lotters seel. Erben, Buchdrucker und Handlere in Augsburg, in ihrem neben dem weissen Rößlein, und der goldenen Traube über gelegenen Laden, ferner in München, wie auch in Saltzburg auf denen beyden Jahr-Märckten, nebst noch vielen andern, um beygesetzten Preiß zu haben seynd.* Augsburg, 1748.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München [D-Mbs, Mus.th.4136a-1748]
- J. J. Lotter 1753:** *Catalogus aller Musicalischen Bücher, welche Johann Jacob Lotters seel. Erben Buchdruckere und Buchhändler, selbst verlegt, oder sich von fremdem Verlag angeschafft und bey ihnen, in ihrem neben dem weissen Rößlen und St. Moritzen Kirche gelegenen Laden in Augsburg, wie auch auf denen Jahrmärckten München, Saltzburg und Landshuth, zu haben sind.* 1753.
Studienbibliothek Dillingen Donau [D-DI, not catalogued]. A facsimile reprint is published by Adolf Layer: *Katalog des Augsburger Verlegers Lotter von 1753* (Kassel, 1964 = *Catalogus Musicus*, ii)
- J. J. Lotter 1754, 1757, 1759:** *Catalogus aller Musicalischen Bücher, welche Johann Jacob Lotters sel. Erben, Buchdruckere und Buchhändler, selbst verlegt, oder sich von fremdem Verlag angeschafft und bey ihnen, in ihrem neben dem weissen Rößlen und St. Moritzen Kirche gelegenen Laden in Augsburg, wie auch auf denen Jahrmärckten München und Saltzburg, um beygesetzte billige Preise zu haben sind.* 1754 [1757 / 1759].
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München [D-Mbs, Mus.th.4136-1754/59]
- J. J. Lotter 1773:** *Musicalischer Catalogus aller derjenigen Bücher und Musicalien welche Johann Jacob Lotter, Buchdrucker und Musicalien-Verleger, entweder selbst verlegt, oder sich von fremdem Verlag angeschaffet, und bey ihme, in seinem auf dem Oberrn Graben, ohnweit dem Vogel-Thor habenden Laden in Augsburg, um beygesetzte billige Preise zu haben sind.* 1773.
The British Library, London [GB-Lbl, Hirsch IV.1108.a]
- T. E. Lotter 1774:** *Verzeichnis derer Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche nebst noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändler in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten.* 1774.
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.4]
- T. E. Lotter 1776:** *Verzeichnis der neuen Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Oster-Messen herausgekommen, und nebst*

noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändlern in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten. 1776.
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.5]

T. E. Lotter 1777: *Verzeichniß der neuen Bücher aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften, welche in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messen herausgekommen, und nebst noch vielen andern um billige Preise zu haben sind bey Elias Tobias Lotter Buchhändlern in Augsburg, wie auch auf beyden Salzburger Jahrmärkten. 1777.*
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/21,Adl.6]

Mayr 1781 – 1784: *Monatliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Salzburg in der Johann Joseph Mayrs sel. Erbin Buchhandlung zu haben sind. [1781–1784].*
Universitätsbibliothek München [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 331]

Schwarzkopf 1766: *Catalogus librorum novissimorum omnium facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche in dieser Müncher Gebracht-Duldt bey Wolffgang Schwarzkopf von Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind. 1766.*
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München [D-Mbs, Cat.744k]

Schwarzkopf 1771, 1772, 1773, 1775: *Catalogus Librorum novissimorum Omnium Facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche aus der Frankfurter und Leipziger Messe 1771 [1772 / 1773 / 1775] angekommen, und nebst vielen andern, so hierinnen nicht enthaltenen bey Wolfgang Schwarzkopf in Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind.*
Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart [D-Sl, HBF 2499]

Schwarzkopf 1776: *Catalogus Librorum novissimorum Omnium Facultatum, oder Verzeichnis derer allerneuesten Bücher, welche aus der Frankfurter und Leipziger Oster-Messe 1776 angekommen, und nebst vielen andern, so hierinnen nicht enthaltenen bey Wolfgang Schwarzkopf in Nürnberg um einen sehr billigen Preiß zu haben sind.*
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst, A-324320/1A,Adl.3]

Wolff 1760: *Catalogus Librorum, oder Verzeichnuß derer Bücher, welche bey Joseph Wolff, Catholischen Buchhändlern zu Augsburg, und Ynnsbrugg, das gantze Jahr, und in beyden Jahrmärkten, zu Hall im Tyrol, und zu Saltzburg, nebst vielen anderen hierin nicht enthaltenen, um billigen Preiß zu haben seynd. Anno 1760.*
Studienbibliothek Dillingen Donau [D-DI, Mag/ A 1781]

Wolff 1774 – 1778: *Monathliche Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Augsburg in der Joseph-Wolffischen Buchhandlung zu haben sind. Erster [Zweyter / Dritter / Vierter / Fünfter] Jahrgang. 1774 [1775 / 1776 / 1777 / 1778].*
Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg [A-Su, 162981 I]; the years 1777–8 are also included in Universitätsbibliothek München [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 330]

Wolff 1779 – 1781: *Alphabethische Anzeige von Büchern, welche zu Augsburg in der Joseph-Wolffischen Buchhandlung zu haben sind. Fürs Jahr 1779 [1780 / 1781].*
Universitätsbibliothek München [D-Mu, 4 H.lit. 330]

Appendix M. Composers involved in Ulrich Haffner's *Oeuvres mêlées*

This appendix gives a complete list of composers whose works are included in Johann Ulrich Haffner's anthology of keyboard music *Oeuvres mêlées, contenant VI sonates pour le clavessin, de tant de plus celebres compositeurs*, 12 vols. (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1755–66). Years of publication are given according to the dating of the plate numbers by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Der Nürnberger Musikverleger Johann Ulrich Haffner', *Acta Musicologica*, xxvi/3 (1954), 114–26. Years of publication in square brackets [xxxx] signify publications without plate numbers; thus the given dates are just approximations. Volumes which include a work by a Salzburg composer are given in **bold**.

Volume 1 (1755)

- 1) Johan Joachim Agrell, 2) Georg Albert Appel, 3) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/9; H58], 4) Johann Jakob Brand, 5) Jakob Friedrich Kleinknecht, 6) Georg Christoph Wagenseil

Volume 2 (1756)

- 1) Georg Albert Appel, 2) Paul Fischer, 3) Bernhard Hupfeld, 4) Jakob Friedrich Kleinknecht, 5) Georg Christoph Wagenseil, 6) Johann Christoph Walther

Volume 3 (1757)

- 1) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/4; H38], 2) Paul Fischer, 3) Johann Wilhelm Hertel, 4) Bernhard Hupfeld, 5) Hinrich Philip Johnsen, 6) Johann Adolph Scheibe

Volume 4 [1758]

- 1) Georg Albert Appel, 2) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/5; H39], 3) Johann Ernst Eberlin, 4) Johann Georg Lang, 5) Johann Adolph Scheibe, 6) Joseph Umstatt

Volume 5 [1759]

- 1) Anton Cajetan Adlgasser [CatAd, 17.01], 2) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/16; H116], 3) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq deest; H368], 4) Leopold Mozart [LMV XIII:1], 5) Johann Gottfried Seyffert, 6) Johann Zach

Volume 6 [1760]

1) Johann Ernst Bach, 2) Georg Benda, 3) Johann Ernst Eberlin, 4) Johann Georg Lang, 5) Leopold Mozart [LMV XIII:2], 6) Johann Gottfried Palschau

Volume 7 (1761)

1) Johann Daniel Hardt, 2) Adolf Karl Kunzen, 3) Johann Georg Lang, 4) Johann Gottfried Palschau, 5) Christoph Schaffrath [CSWV:H:14], 6) Johann Nikolaus Tischer

Volume 8 [1762]

1) Anton Cajetan Adlgasser [CatAd, 17.02], 2) Christlieb Sigismund Binder, 3) Franz Ferdinand Hengsberger, 4) Johann Georg Lang, 5) Philippe Le Roy, 6) Heinrich Felix Spitz ['dilettante di Cembalo in S. Pietroborgo']

Volume 9 [1763]

1) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq65/32; H133], 2) Franz Vollrath Buttstett, 3) Johann Balthasar Kehl, 4) Leopold Mozart [LMV XIII:3], 5) Franz Anton Stadler, 6) Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Wenkel

Volume 10 [1764]

1) Christlieb Sigismund Binder, 2) Franz Vollrath Buttstett, 3) Johann Balthasar Kehl, 4) Philippe le Roy, 5) Joseph Ferdinand Timmer, 6) Constantin Joseph Weber

Volume 11 (1765)

1) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/21; H131], 2) Johann Friedrich Daube, 3) Johann Balthasar Kehl, 4) Johann Christoph Monn, 5) Joseph Ferdinand Timmer, 6) Justus Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä

Volume 12 [1766]

1) Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach [Wq62/17; H117], 2) Franz Vollrath Buttstett, 3) Johann Balthasar Kehl, 4) Johann Gottfried Krebs, 5) Johann Schobert, 6) Joseph Ferdinand Timmer

Appendix N. North German sheet music in the Mozarts' Salzburg library

Composer, work (place, publisher, year) [remarks]	Source
Agrell, Johan Joachim. <i>Allegro in e-minor</i> [possibly copied from Johan Joachim Agrell, <i>Sei sonate per il cembalo solo, accompagnate da alcune ariette, polonesi, minuetti, &c.</i> , op.2 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1748), Sonata IV, 3 rd movement]	Movement included in 'Nannerl Notenbuch'.
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1760) [Wq50; H126, 136–40]	<i>Briefe</i> , i, 527–8; <i>Letters</i> , 265. Also in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 205; not in <i>Letters</i> .
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1761) [Wq51; H62, 127–8, 141, 150–1]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 205; not in <i>Letters</i> .
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefüger Fingersetzung für Anfänger</i> (Augsburg, Lotter, 1768) [Wq113; H193–203]	According to Georg Nikolaus Nissen. ⁴⁰
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. 'La Boehmer', Murky in D [possibly copied from <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1762–3)] [Wq117/26; H81]	Arranged by W. A. Mozart as last movement of concerto K40.
Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. Five fugues for keyboard (manuscript copy) [Wq119/2–4, 6–7; H75.5, 99–102]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 299; <i>Letters</i> , 865. W. A. Mozart's copy at A-Sm, MN 138,5
Bach, Johann Sebastian. 'Seb[astian] Bachs fugen' [not nearer identified]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 295; <i>Letters</i> , 862. Also in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 299; <i>Letters</i> , 865.
Benda, Georg. <i>Sei sonate per il cembalo</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1757) [Given to the Mozarts in Utrecht in 1766]	<i>Dokumente</i> , 52; <i>Documentary Biography</i> , 54.
Benda, Georg. <i>Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke für geübte und ungeübte Spieler</i> (Gotha, Ettinger, 1780) [The Mozarts' name appear in subscribers' list]	<i>Dokumente</i> , 521; not in <i>Documentary Biography</i> .
Benda, Georg. <i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i> [possibly the keyboard reduction published by Schwickert, Leipzig, in 1778]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 506; <i>Letters</i> , 631. Also in <i>Briefe</i> , iii, 606 & 612; not in <i>Letters</i> .
Benda, Georg. <i>Medea</i> [possibly the keyboard reduction published by Schwickert, Leipzig, in 1778]	<i>Briefe</i> , ii, 506; <i>Letters</i> , 631.
Haffner, Johann Ulrich, ed. <i>Oeuvres mêlées, contenant VI sonates pour le clavessin, de tant de plus celebres compositeurs</i> , v, vi, ix (Nuremberg, Haffner, c1759–63)	Leopold got six copies each of these three volumes as remuneration of his own sonatas included.
Händel, Georg Friedrich. 'Six fugues' [possibly 6 <i>Fugues or Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord</i> (London, Walsh, 1735)]	<i>Briefe</i> , iii, 201; <i>Letters</i> , 800.
Tischer, Johann Nikolaus. <i>Fanfare</i> , from Suite for keyboard Op.3/1 [possibly copied from Johann Nikolaus Tischer, <i>Divertissement musical, contenant VI suites pour le clavessin</i> , op.3 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1751)]	Included in 'Nannerl Notenbuch'.

⁴⁰ See Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, ed. Rudolph Angermüller (Hildesheim, 2010), 13.

Appendix O. Music by C. P. E. Bach advertised in Breitkopf's catalogues 1760 to 1780

Music by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach listed in the sales catalogues by the Breitkopf firm in Leipzig from 1760 until 1780. Excluding anthologies; sorted according to Wq-numbers (which follow the composition dates within genres).

Prints [6 vols.]: *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Bücher* [printed books], i-vi (1760, 1761, 1763, 1770, 1777, 1780)

Ms [4 vols.]: *Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke* [manuscript copies], i-iv (1761, 1764, 1770, 1780)

Tc [= Thematic catalogues, 6 vols.]:

1 *Catalogo delle Sinfonie* (1762)

2 *Catalogo dei Soli, Duetti, Trii, e Concerti* [string instruments] (1762)

3 *Catalogo de' Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti* [wind instruments] (1763)

4 *Catalogo de' Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti* [harpsichord and harp] (1763)

5 *Catalogo de' Quadri, Partite, Divertimenti, Cassat.* [etc] (1765)

6 *Catalogo delle Arie, Duetti, Madrigali e Cantate* (1765)

Sup [13 vols. until 1780]: *Supplemento I. [II., III., etc.] dei Catalogi* (1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776–7, 1778, 1779–80)

Work (place, publisher, year / manuscript)	Catalogue
<i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in D, Wq11; H414 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1745)	Prints1760
<i>Concerto per il cembalo concertato</i> , in B ^b , Wq25; H429 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1754)	Prints1760
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , 2 violini, viola e basso. <i>Raccolta I.</i> [Wq8, Wq20 & Wq32; H411, 423, 442]	Ms1761; Tc4
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , 2 violini, viola e basso. <i>Raccolta II.</i> [Wq18, Wq29 & Wq34; H421, 437, 444]	Ms1761; Tc4
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , 2 violini, viola e basso. <i>Raccolta III.</i> [Wq16, Wq19 & Wq deest; H419, 422, 484.2]	Ms1764; Tc4
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo obligato</i> , 2 violini, viola e basso. <i>Raccolta VI.</i> [Wq5, Wq6 & Wq24; H407, 409, 428]	Ms1764; Tc4
III. <i>Concerti a cemb[alo] oblig[ato]</i> , 2 viol[ini], viola e basso. <i>Racc[olta] nov[a] I.</i> [Wq26, Wq28 & Wq33; H430, 434, 443]	Ms1770; Sup1767
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo oblig[ato]</i> , 2 viol[ini], viola e basso. <i>Racc[olta] nov[a] II.</i> [Wq2, Wq10 & Wq27; H404, 413, 433]	Ms1770; Sup1767
III. <i>Concerti a cembalo oblig[ato]</i> , 2 viol[ini], viola e basso. <i>Racc[olta] nov[a] III.</i> [Wq12, Wq17 & Wq35; H415, 420, 446]	Ms1770; Sup1767
<i>Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato</i> , Wq43; H471–476 (Hamburg, Winter, 1772)	Prints1777; Sup1772
I. <i>Concerto a 2 cembali oblig[ati]</i> , 2 cor[ni], 2 violini, viola e basso [Wq46; H408]	Ms1770; Sup1767
<i>Sei sonate per cembalo, che all'Augusta Maesta di Frederico II, Re di Prussia</i> , op.1 (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1742) [Wq48; H24–29]	Prints1760
<i>Sei sonate per il cembalo, dedicate all'Altezza Serenissima di Carlo Eugenio, Duca di Wirtemberg e Teckh</i> , op.2 (Nuremberg, Haffner, 1744) [Wq49; H30–4, 36]	Prints1760

<i>Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1760) [Wq50; H126, 136–40]	Prints1760
<i>Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1761) [Wq51; H62, 127–8, 141, 150–1]	Prints1761
<i>Zweyte Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763) [Wq52; H37, 50, 129, 142, 158, 161]	Prints1763
<i>Sechs leichte Claviersonaten</i> (Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1766) [Wq53; H162–3, 180–3]	Prints1770
<i>Six sonates pour le clavecin a l'usage des dames</i> (Amsterdam, Hummel, 1770) [Wq54; H184–5, 204–7]	Prints1777; Sup1770
<i>Sei sonate per il clavicembalo al'uso delle donne</i> (Riga, Hartknoch, 1773) [Wq54; H184–5, 204–7]	Prints1777
<i>Sechs Clavier-Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber</i> [1 st collection] (Leipzig, Bach, 1779) [Wq55; H130, 186–7, 243–5]	Prints1780; Sup1779–80
IV. <i>Sonate a cembalo solo</i> [Wq62/8, 10, 15, Wq65/31; H55, 59, 105, 121]	Ms1780; Sup1776–7
VI. <i>Sonate per il cembalo solo. Raccolta II.</i> [Wq65/1, 7, 9, 11–2, 23; H3, 16, 18, 21, 23, 57]	Ms1761; Tc4
VI. <i>Sonate per il cembalo solo. Raccolta III.</i> [Wq65/2, 13–4, 16, 22, deest; H4, 32.5, 42, 46, 56, 370]	Ms1761; Tc4
<i>Trio a cembalo obligato con violino</i> [Wq73; H504]	Ms1770; Sup1766
<i>Zwölf kleine Stücke mit zwey und drey Stimmen für die Flöte oder Violine und das Clavier</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1759) [Wq81; H600]	Prints1760
<i>Zwölf zwey- und drey-stimmige kleine Stücke für die Flöte (oder Violin) und das Clavier</i> (Hamburg, Schönemann, 1770) [Wq82; H628]	Prints1777
<i>Six Sonatas for two Harpsichord or Piano Forte</i> (London, Bremner, 1776) [Wq89; H525–30]	Prints1780; Sup1776–7
<i>Six sonates pour le clavecin ou piano forte</i> (Berlin, Hummel, 1778) [Wq89; H525–30]	Prints1780
<i>Claviersonaten mit einer Violine und einem Violoncell</i> [1 st collection] (Leipzig, 1776) [Wq90; H522–4]	Prints1780
<i>Claviersonaten mit einer Violine und einem Violoncell</i> [2 nd collection] (Leipzig, 1777) [Wq91; H531–4]	Prints1780
<i>Sonatina I a cembalo concertato</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1764) [Wq106; H458]	Prints1770
<i>Sonatina II a cembalo concertato</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1764) [Wq107; H461]	Prints1770
<i>Sonatina III a cembalo concertato</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1766) [Wq108; H462]	Prints1770
<i>Clavierstücke verschiedener Art</i> [1 st collection] (Berlin, Winter, 1765) [Wq112; H101.5, 144–9, 165–70, 179, 190–1, 693–5]	Prints1777
<i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke</i> [1 st collection] (Berlin, Winter, 1766) [Wq113; H193–203]	Prints1770
<i>Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke</i> [2 nd collection] (Berlin, Winter, 1768) [Wq114; H228–238]	Prints1770
III. <i>Partite per il cembalo solo, con variazioni. Raccolta I.</i> [= three sets of variations, Wq118/3–5; H44, 54, 65]	Ms1761; Tc4
<i>Fantasia e fuga</i> [Wq119/7; H75.5]	Ms1780; Sup1776–7
<i>Sonata a flauto traverso solo, senza basso</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1764) [Wq132; H562] [Also published as part of <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763), 179–83]	Prints1770

VI. Sonate à flauto, violino e basso, [Wq148–9, 151, 153, 158–9; H572–3, 575, 584, 586–7]	Ms1761; Tc3
<i>Sonata a II violini e basso</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1763) [Wq158; H584]	Prints1770
<i>Sonata à fagotto, flauto basso e violone</i> [Wq159; H589] [A version for two treble instruments exists, too; see above VI. <i>Sonata a flauto, violino e basso</i> , Wq159; H587]	Ms1761; Tc3
<i>Zwey Trio, das erste für zwo Violinen und Bass, das zweyte für 1 Querflöte, 1 Violine und Bass, bey welchen beyden aber die eine von den Oberstimmen auch auf dem Flügel gespielt werden kann</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1751) [Wq161; H578–9]	Prints1760
<i>Sonata a cembalo e flauto</i> [Wq161/2; H578]	Ms1780; Sup1772
VI. <i>Sinfonie à 2 violini, viola e basso, 1 c. corni, 2 c. oboi</i> [Wq173–6; H648–51; the other two works probably not authentic]	Ms1761; Tc1
<i>Sinfonia à II violini, violetta e basso</i> (Nuremberg, Schmid, 1759) [Wq177; H652]	Prints1760
<i>Orchester-Sinfonien mit zwölf obligaten Stimmen</i> (Leipzig, Schwickert, 1780) [Wq183; H663–6]	Prints1780; Sup1779–80
<i>Herrn Prof. Gellerts geistliche Oden und Liedern mit Melodien</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1759) [Wq194; H686]	Prints1760
<i>Oden mit Melodien</i> (Berlin, Wever, 1762) [Wq199; H670–84, 685.5, 687, 690–2]	Prints1763
<i>Oden mit Melodien</i> (Berlin, Wever, 1774) [Wq199; H670–84, 685.5, 687, 690–2]	Prints1780
<i>Phillis und Thirsis</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1766) [Wq232; H697]	Prints1770
<i>Die Israeliten in der Wüste</i> (Hamburg, Bach, 1775) [Wq238; H733] [score]	Prints1777
<i>Osterkantate, 'Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket'</i> [Wq244; H803] [score]	Ms1770
<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, i</i> (Berlin, Henning, 1753) [Wq254; H868]	Prints1760
<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, ii</i> (Berlin, Winter, 1762) [Wq255; H870]	Prints1761
I. <i>Sonata a cembalo obbligato coll violino, in g-minor</i> [Wq deest; H542.5]	Ms1764; Tc4
II. <i>Sinfonie, a 2 violini, viola e basso</i> [Wq deest; H667 is possibly authentic, the other work probably not]	Ms1770; Sup1766

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